President Radhakrishnan's

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS



PRESIDENT RADHAKRISHNAN'S SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

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Mr Officiating Dean—the Acting Dean is not well and does not happen to be here : I thank you and the members of the Diplomatic Corps for the very kind words that you have spoken about me. I hope that your Acting Dean will recover his health soon and will be with us.

I shall be very glad to convey to Dr Rajendra Prasad the generous and friendly words which you have just said. We all appreciate his great presidentship for about 12 years and the services he rendered not only to our country but to human fellowship. I shall be happy to pass on your message to him.

You just said that you were not mere official Heads of Missions but friends. That is a happy idea. What the world needs today is not a juxtaposition of competing States but friendly partners working for the one supreme cause of making the world a happy home for humanity. We should look upon ourselves not as rivals but as friends with a common purpose in view. The years ahead of us are crucial, crucial because of the spectacular achievements which we have won in the realms of science and technology. They may be used for good purposes or for evil purposes : it depends on us and it is our hope that all these things will be utilized for the service of man and not the destruction of humanity. We in our narrow-mindedness sometimes crave not so much for our own happiness as for the unhappiness of other people. We should be large-minded enough to know that the happiness of other people contributes to our own happiness. What makes other people happy should make us also happy. Man is a mixture of elements, so much of nobility in him, yet so much of wretchedness; so much of magnanimity, yet so much of meanness; so much of greatness, and yet so much of littleness. We are all mixtures of these elements. Once Tolstoy was asked, "Have you seen the devil ?" Tolstoy replied, "I have not." The interlocutor said, "Look into the mirror, you will find one !" That is what Tolstoy was told. In other words, each one of us has in him certain elements of a diabolic character as also certain elements of a divine nature. We must strengthen the higher elements of our nature and weaken—because we cannot cure them altogether—the other elements which we also share. It is this dual character of human beings that is responsible for much that is happening in the world.

We have co-operated a good deal. Take sixteenth century science :

Speech at luncheon for the Diplomatic Corps, New Delhi, 14 May, 1962

Copernicus was a Pole, Galileo was an Italian, Kepler was a German, Newton was an Englishman—all of them contributed to the development of science. Today in the twentieth century, our modern science owes a great deal to the contributions made by persons of different nationalities. It has become one international world : economically we are becoming interdependent; in several cultural matters we are also interdependent; scientifically, too, we are interdependent. With regard to human rights, we want to bring about the achievement of human rights for all people and freedom from disabilities—political, social and economic—from which many of us happen to suffer.

The world is meant to be a partnership. It is meant to be a friendly universe. We are born to love, not to hate. We are born to help one another, not to destroy one another. But by propaganda and indoctrination we begin to think that we are superiors and that others are not our equals. That kind of thing is due not to the natural impulses of the human being. The human being naturally loves another. It is by indoctrination that we seduce man from his natural generosity of spirit, sympathy and fellowship into devious methods. That is what we do. Our one aim in this world should be that we should not exaggerate, should not misrepresent, should not indulge in propaganda, but listen to the voice of truth, obey the call of compassion. If we are able to do it, this world will become one and we will all be proud of what we have achieved. Just as we are all friends here, our nations should all become friends. If that happens, that is the kind of consummation which we sincerely desire. Let us therefore, raise our glasses to the world as a partnership and nations as friendly partners in that one world.

NEED FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

This Anti-nuclear Arms Convention is convened to express the deep concern of the peoples of the world at the growing competition in nuclear weapons, which may, by accident if not by design, destroy nearly everything we hold dear, and reduce this world to ashes. The present balance of nuclear power, when a pilot in panic may press a button and end the human race, is a state of precarious peace. This is a cold, hard fact of contemporary life.

The testing of nuclear weapons, as going on today, has not only immediate but long-term effects. It causes untold damage to unborn

Address to the Anti-nuclear Arms Convention, New Delhi, 16 June, 1962

generations. Our invitation letter stresses this aspect: "Give our children a chance to grow up as we did." This is possible only if there is complete nuclear disarmament.

The world is full of tensions arising from the growth of new nations, from the passion for independence of non-self-governing peoples, from the demand of less advanced people for a larger share in the world's goods, from the racial policies adopted by certain States and from the inequalities between the rich and the poor nations. The most acute and urgent problem is the cold war between the two blocs which are piling up vast destructive nuclear power. In this explosive condition of international deterioration any miscalculation may lead to a catastrophe.

The Convention is not only against the testing of nuclear weapons but against their use in any war. Even if we ban the testing of nuclear weapons, destroy the nuclear armaments, stop their production, we cannot erase the knowledge of nuclear know-how from men's minds. As soon as hostilities break out, nuclear weapons will be produced and used. Military researchers are planning deadlier weapons at lower cost. A time will come when almost all nations will have the knowledge and the power to make nuclear weapons. We must, therefore, assume that in another war on a large scale, if the present conditions continue, nuclear weapons will be used, resulting in the obliteration of our enemies as well as of ourselves.

So long as we retain war as a method of settling international disputes and include nuclear weapons in our armoury, they will be used at some stage. There is now no alternative to a peaceful settlement of even the most intricate international problems. If we wish to abolish the use of nuclear weapons, we must work for the abolition of war itself as an instrument for settling international disputes.

The resources, natural and human, which we now have, if uncontrolled, may lead to disaster; if controlled and properly directed, they may lead to a better world than we had ever before. The future is in our hands. The passions, the illusions and the tensions which provoked wars in the past cannot be allowed to persist in the future. We will survive or perish together by the choice we now make. History must take a new direction if man's deepest desire for peace is to endure and prevail.

It is unfortunate that man is losing faith in himself. We suffer from a feeling of utter helplessness. We seem to have lost our initiative and judgment. We live in an age which seems to be purposeless, which is greatly concerned but unconvinced, which hesitates between the past and the future. The human mind is at conflict with itself. We do not choose evil and accept it but it chooses us, enters us slowly and consumes us. This is because man has ceased to be a creative person. He

is reduced to the status of an object shaped by impersonal forces. This is man's self-defeat.

Our excuse is that other people are doing the same thing. Living in this world we have to behave like others, *śastraṁ śastreṇaśāmyati*, arms are overcome by arms.

We should realize that the progress hitherto achieved is due to the free spirit of man which fights all closed societies and rebels against the rigidity of the past. The inspiration of the infinitely improbable has been the impetus to all progress. In any society a small minority overcomes spiritual inertia and asserts the force of spirit which is unconquerable. It resists the *status quo*. If we care for the sick, the weak, the old, the decrepit; if we have abandoned the beliefs that the gods would be pleased by the burning alive of children, witches, and our enemies; if we have abolished duelling and slavery; if the rack, the stake and the Inquisition are relics of the past, it is because of the force of spirit.

The absence of any preconceived pattern in history, the contingency, the unforeseeability, the haphazardness of history point to the intervention of the free spirit of man. The future of mankind is wide open. There is nothing inevitable about it.

It is wrong to assume that human nature is static and unchanging. Man's sensitivity to evil has increased. Many beliefs and practices which we once adopted are now discarded. What we once regarded as right are now discarded as wrong. Human nature has changed in the past and will change in the future. In this world of mortal peril, that is the immortal hope that sustains us.

We should realize that behind the hand that releases the bomb is the heart that sets the hand in motion. If the finer feelings of man are deadened, it is because we have been trained to look upon evil as inevitable—"Evil, be thou my good." Man can grow in mind and heart, and control the physical environment which he has changed a great deal. Human nature has changed a great deal, and by a determined effort we can bring about other changes.

The first change to be effected is in our attitude to the nation-State. A nation as an experiment in social living with its graces and values has a place, but as an instrument of power and exploitation it has been ruinous. Nations should not be causes of irritation to one another. They should be sources of blessing. If we have a proper perspective of history we will realize that many great nations and civilizations have disappeared. Their days are over and their altars smoke no more. We need not assume that our own nation will endure, though others may pass out. A nation will endure only if it conforms to the law of love, of co-operation.

Belief in complete unqualified national sovereignty is out of date in the present world. The future sends our minds back into the past,

the recent past. When the United States entered the First World War, President Wilson, in his speech to the Congress on April 2, 1917, indicated the conditions of stable peace. He was convinced that neutrality was impossible for the United States when major aggressions occurred. He made out that the United States should co-operate with others in the system of collective defence against aggression. He outlined the plan of the League of Nations but it did not get the support of the Congress.

In 1932, the Disarmament Conference was held at Geneva. I had the honour of being present at a few meetings as I was then a member of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. In June of that year, President Hoover put forward a plan for a general treaty, suggesting a large reduction in armaments, naval and military, the abolition of lethal weapons that helped attack, and all bombing aircraft. The plan was received with great enthusiasm throughout the world and in the Conference itself the smaller nations were in its favour. Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union supported the plan. The Soviet representative, Litvinov, proposed full inspection and control of armaments. The Governments that hesitated and held back were those of Great Britain and France. Though the British people supported it, the British Cabinet was divided. Baldwin was defeated by a narrow margin in the Cabinet. The Hoover plan was killed. A frenzied arms race started. The Governments went back to power politics. The choice then was world disarmament or German rearmament. The former was set aside, the latter was adopted; and Hitler came to power. The League broke up. The Second World War was the result. Staying out of the League of Nations did not keep the United States out of the Second World War.

All through we assumed that national independence for all peoples was the basic condition of peace. We now know that national independence, however desirable and necessary, does not by itself make for peace. The major combatants in the two wars were completely independent. They did not suffer from any colonial status. They were so independent that they would not combine for any defensive action.

The disarmament negotiations have been facing heavy weather since 1955. The Governments have been suspicious of one another. If nuclear weapons were to be abolished, some disloyal Government may retain secret stock. Only last week, the British delegate, Mr Joseph Godber, who is the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva in regard to nuclear weapons that "in a totally disarmed world one irresponsible nation which had managed to manufacture, or to withhold from destruction only a few of these weapons, could easily establish overwhelming supremacy." These suspicions are the cause of the armaments race, intelligence services,

mass hysteria and violent propaganda. National leaders feel free to disrupt human society on arguable grounds of power, pride, honour and security. When we justify the cold war and the armaments race we argue that there is no use sacrificing the good life for the sake of life, that we should not surrender the human rights of freedom and dignity for the sake of mere existence. It is hardly realized that no material or spiritual benefit can be of any use if we all perish. We recognize in theory but do not adopt in practice that no nation is safe until the world is safe. The alternatives are disarmament or destruction. Though we are members of the United Nations, we operate within the framework of old institutions and diplomatic channels. Even when we are aware that the new world requires new methods, we are inhibited by the practices and conventions of the past.

The conflicts between the two blocs in which mutual distrust and suspicion are pronounced remind us of the conflicts of previous ages. We have had conflicts between the Jews and the Gentiles, between the Greeks and the barbarians, between the Romans and the Provincials, between the Teutons and the Slavs, between the Christians and the Muslims, between the Catholics and the Protestants, between the Allies and the Axis powers. In the cold war, the Communists and the anti-Communists suffer from what the psychologists call the sense of being persecuted. They complain against each other that one group is lacking in freedom and the other in social justice. In all these conflicts we believe that we are the chosen ones and that what we do is right. Blind confidence in one's own State and morbid suspicion of the other characterize us all. No nation is free from this national egotism. All of us are the victims of pride, passion and prejudice, and suffer from Pharisaism.

Human beings who are civilized as *individuals* behave differently as *citizens* of States. They fear and suspect members of other States and are on their guard in their behaviour towards them. We do not judge them by their character but by their belonging to a particular State. Already in ancient Rome, long before the advent of technology, it was said : "*Senatores boni, senatus bestia,*" which freely translated means, "The individual senator may be an honourable man but the Senate as an institution is a beast." When we judge others we judge them by the society, religion or nation to which they belong and not on their merits. Our group attachments dictate our behaviour and not our conscience which is the sole source of universality of judgment. We allow the sacred flame of spirit to be smothered by the exigencies of the social situation, and banish feelings of humanity from our hearts. The ruling motives of our behaviour do not have that integrity which is characteristic of a truly civilized human being. We are not the doctors; we are the disease. The English poet Auden says somewhere that

"intellectual disgrace stares from every human face." We need urgently an improvement in the quality of human beings.

The means by which different religious groups have settled down in peace are the only means left to us in the nuclear age for bringing about peace between rival political groups or societies. The doctrinal rigidities which exaggerate differences are now relaxed. We are inclined to believe those who are seeking truth rather than those who claim to have found it. Many fanatics, religious and political, sought to reach heaven by creating hell on earth. The Supreme, Who sees into all hearts, Who knows all desires, from Whom no secret is hidden, accepts all who trust Him and dedicate their lives to the carrying out of His Will. All those who speak or write of the Great Mystery which is the source of all life and beauty, are like those who point to a pilgrim the road to the shrine that he would visit. To use the words of Plotinus : "The teaching is only of whither and how to go, the vision itself is the work of him who hath willed to see." This is the teaching of the Buddha, of the Upaniṣads, of the great religious seers.

We repeat in different accents what has been our age-old tradition when we call for love and co-operation, tolerance and understanding. We were able to reconcile diverse views, seeing the human in all of them. We must see the human underneath the two rival groups.

The world is intended to become the abode of the family of man. It is the intention of nature. It is in the mind of events. The scientific, the technological and the atomic revolutions have made the world into a single unit. In the last five thousand years we have moved on from the tribal to the national phase of history. Today we have to move on to an effective, adequate and inclusive United Nations where the nations co-operate for the common ends of human welfare. An appreciation of the common heritage of all peoples, an awareness of the growing interdependence of the world, a sense of the indivisibility of the freedom and well-being of all people and an abandonment of the faith in the unqualified freedom of nations, will help to build up an international society.

We are at the great cross-roads of history. A major revolution in the conduct of international affairs is needed. We are not all saints. We are subject to tensions within ourselves and conflicts with others. We are subject to the stresses and strains of our inherited habits. The United Nations Organization embodies our hopes for the survival and progress of all peoples and for bringing all nations under the rule of law. Even as we have a national security force to put down anti-national and anti-social forces the world authority should have a police force to put down elements which violate international law.

Non-governmental organizations in the fields of sciences and humanities are contributing to the building up of a world community.

They are educating the peoples of the world for peace and brotherhood. It is possible to create a new climate of thought and behaviour, if we emphasize the universal truths, love, co-operation, compassion and sacrifice, without which any work is ephemeral and doomed.

If the varied economic, social, cultural and political institutions, which affect the whole world, are to be saved from collapse, the reinforcement of multi-cultural understanding and spiritual fellowship among all peoples is an imperative necessity. Men have been existing side by side for centuries. They must now not merely exist together but live together, understand one another and love one another. We must feel in our souls the anguish of the world which calls for a radical change in our behaviour. We must be delivered from ourselves, from our narrowness of mind and loyalty to small groups. The desire for peace and brotherhood is deep in the heart of man. Gandhiji said : "I shall have no pleasure from living in this world if it is not united."

Future generations will see in our era of confusion, darkness, danger and despair the time when a break was made with the international anarchy of absolute, sovereign States, when the world community began to become a functioning reality. All growth is effected in silence. Great things happen gradually. Progress is not achieved at a single step. Congo and Laos are feeble indications of the onward march of humanity.

A day will dawn when there will be no hunger, no homelessness, no epidemic diseases and no wars. The continuing presence of the Divine is a pledge of this tomorrow. He is at work opening out new possibilities for mankind.

Let this Convention make an appeal to the Governments and peoples of the world. Let it stir men's minds and hearts, let it lift them above national fears and suspicions. Let it give a call to move forward to human brotherhood and away from nuclear destruction. We have faith in the goodness of man, faith that he will not submit to the madness of a nuclear war. Truth will triumph, not fear or falsehood; sanity will prevail, not insanity.

GROWTH : NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

It gives me great pleasure to be here this morning to inaugurate the series of monographs of the Kautilya Organization. I am glad to see that your institution is named after one of the most outstanding political thinkers and theorists of ancient India, in the popularization

Speech at Kautilya Organization, Mysore, 3 August, 1962

of whose great work an eminent scholar of Mysore played a considerable part.

Your Organization is primarily interested in international affairs. Your Organization will bring out a series of monographs on matters of international economics and politics. The world is changing rapidly. It is impossible for any country to remain isolated in this world. Economically and politically we are dependent on one another. Our politicians, as those of other countries, are engaged in solving the immediate problems. But we must have a perspective, a general understanding of the basic principles which make for civilized living. Co-operation is natural for human beings. In economics, we are co-operating. Even in politics, in the United Nations and several other organizations, we are co-operating. We had recently an Anti-nuclear Arms Convention at New Delhi. It gave us an idea of the eagerness that there is for maintaining harmonious relations among nations.

Those who rose from political subjection must give the politicians an idea of the difficulties involved and the ways to overcome them. The politicians are in a hurry. They have not much time for reflecting on great principles of social behaviour or for understanding the difficulties which have to be overcome. Those who are able to bring an academic attitude to bear on these questions will help political leaders a great deal. It is a pleasure to inaugurate the new series.

I notice that one of the subjects of the monographs in the present series relates to the growth of under-developed countries. The uneven distribution of wealth as between different countries, and the widening gap between the living standards of the rich countries and the poor two-thirds of the world, constitute the greatest threat to orderly international relations. Peace, it has been said, is indivisible; so is international prosperity. In a shrinking world we cannot have these disparities if we want to prevent an explosion. The growth of the under-developed countries is not merely a challenge to the moral conscience of the rich nations; it is an extension of the instinct of self-preservation of humanity.

GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE

FRIENDS: the United Nations is the symbol of a new world and the hope of humanity. If the world, made one through science and technology, is not to be led into confusion and chaos, if it is not to remain politically anarchic, this organization should be strengthened, made fully representative and helped to function properly.

Message on United Nations Day, 24 October, 1962

Among the many causes which lead to wars may be mentioned colonialism, racial oppression and economic distress in large parts of the world. These constitute a threat to world peace. The United Nations is striving to remove these sources of conflict by peaceful means. It is not its aim to freeze the *status quo*. Peace will be precarious if we persist in maintaining things as they are.

Dependent territories are becoming independent in Asia and Africa, though there are still many parts which are not independent. There are some countries which are still expansionist. We have a glaring example of racial oppression in South Africa. Even in other independent countries racial discrimination prevails, and it is a constant source of irritation. Economic inequalities among nations are injurious to political stability. They lead to political frustration and resentment. The advanced nations of the world realize their responsibility to the less advanced ones and the United Nations is assisting by peaceful means to end colonialism of every type and to remove racial oppression and diminish the economic sufferings of the poorer nations of the world.

From dependence we move on to interdependence through independence. Independence does not mean isolation. Through membership of the United Nations we are realizing the interdependence of nations.

Our bewildered generation knows that the greatest enemy of mankind is not disease, not famine, but nuclear weapons which in war will destroy civilization, and in peace inflict grievous damage on the human race and its future. Our worst enemies are those who move heedlessly towards nuclear warfare as a means of satisfying their ambitions and desires. The United Nations is convinced that the use of nuclear weapons constitutes a violation of its Charter. The threat to use these weapons is equally a violation of the Charter. The resolutions of the UN on nuclear tests reveal the strength and depth of international feeling in the matter.

Those who realize the political implications of the nuclear age are deeply concerned about the present division of the world into two groups which are piling up armaments and carrying out nuclear tests under water, on land, under ground, and in the atmosphere. This is being done with a cynical disregard of the rights and interests of ordinary people.

Armaments are not the main source of war. They are the sign and symbol of the persistence of the old relationship of sovereign States, which accepts force as the principle by which international disputes are decided. Nationalism is a disease which, even if it does not erupt into war, corrupts the ideals and poisons the relations in the world family.

The division of the world into two groups contains in it all the ingredients of classic conflict which has led to wars in the past. The

so-called ideological conflict is also one between two rival blocs, which suspect each other, distrust each other and fear each other. Both the groups are confident that they have just claims which are opposed to each other's. For vindicating their claims in the traditional way, both groups are piling up armaments. Dismay and fatalism are widespread among those who wish to prevent wars. We need not, however, lose hope.

There are trends developing which may lead us out of the present confusion. There is more understanding between the two groups, more talks, more exchanges of visits. Scientists and technologists of the Soviet Union are visiting the great intellectual centres in the non-communist world. In the United Nations they have an opportunity of knowing each other and clearing many suspicions, prejudices and misunderstandings. In the committees and in the Assembly they are able to argue, disagree, joke, and above all, to feel that the issues on which they agree are vastly more important than those on which they disagree. They both know that the solution of victory is denied to them. Mr Khrushchev rejects the inevitability of war and insists on peaceful co-operation. There is a convergence of interest among the powers. There is a meeting of extremes. The Erivan radio in Soviet Armenia in its Quiz Hour said, in answer to the question "What is the distinction between capitalism and communism ?", "Capitalism is man exploiting man, and communism is the opposite of it."

If our mind is peaceful and loving, peace and bliss will follow us. If it be hateful and aggressive, trouble and distress will cloud our path. Grief and disaster will come out of ill will; health and order will come out of goodwill. Let us break with the sterile thoughts of the past and break new ground. Let us get together, create the nucleus of a world authority to assure the safety of nations from attacks by their powerful neighbours.

The presence of the UN with its peace machinery, however limited in scope, is exerting a power on the world scene that is not adequately understood.

A world without fear, without hunger, may seem to be impracticable. But all historical experience confirms the view that man would not have attained the possible unless time and again he had reached out for the impossible. What man has achieved so far is immense, yet it is very small compared to what he may yet achieve. History has many surprises in store for us.

THE SPIRIT OF MAN

YOUR Majesties, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am very pleased to hear that your stay here till now has been an interesting one. I hope that it will continue to be so. Ultimately, the importance of any nation is estimated not by its territory, population or commerce, but by the values it has brought to the world and the degree to which they have been embodied in its life. Your classics are read in seats of higher learning all over the world.

You have referred to the mutual influence of Greece and India. Many treatises have been written on this subject.

The Greeks, I believe, are natural catholics. It is Plato who told us that religion consisted of the vision of the good and that it could be transmitted by the impact of personality and not by the handing out of information. He looked upon the doctrines of religion as likely tales but on that account not less legendary. Those who adopt this view develop an attitude of tolerance and understanding towards the different doctrinal systems. When Plato emphasized that the vision of the good is the essence of religion, he made out that this was possible only with the transformation of one's nature and not merely by the repetition of dogmas or the observance of ceremonies. We must behold the truth and we become what we behold.

Though the philosophers of Greece twenty-five centuries ago produced immortal classics, all their brilliance did not enable the Greek City States to live together in peace and friendship. For two thousand years, Christian theologians elaborated the message of Jesus but the religious wars between the various sects of Christendom have been of a savage character. This has been so with regard to other religions.

Men have fought wars but mankind survived. We ourselves have survived the two World Wars, but we may not be able to survive a third world war which will be fought with nuclear weapons. If men continue to behave politically as they have behaved previously, mankind will perish. The forces which push men into conflicts are very deep-rooted since they have characterized mankind throughout its existence. The question is : how can we control these forces ? How can we subject them sufficiently to discipline to ensure human survival ?

Feelings and emotions there are in human nature, breeding hatred and passions that corrupted human life throughout history and do so still. There are, on the other hand, in human nature cravings for beauty, moral aspirations, love of fellow men and reverence for something greater than oneself in the Universe. These creative impulses give warmth and colour to life's fabric, its richness, fullness and

Speech at banquet given by the King of Greece in honour of the President, New Delhi, 6 February, 1963

diversity; but suddenly some feeling overtakes us and these are suppressed and the more primitive impulses come to the surface. That is why the great religious teachers of India and of Greece, of East and of West, have said that man is not truly religious unless he refashions his nature and gets rid of the lower impulses. It is not enough for great teachers to proclaim the truth; it is for ordinary men to see that it is the truth and apply it to their collective behaviour. Truth is self-evident, inherent in the common experience of daily life. We should improve the quality of public judgment and public behaviour.

Thucydides told us long ago, "Love of power and domination is like a wicked harlot that seduces men and nations and brings them down to their ruin," but unfortunately as a cynic says, "One thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from it." If we do not learn from the past, we may have to live it over again. Our generation seems to have lost its way; we must make out that what is wrong with the world is not 'matter'. It is not the atom bombs or the nuclear weapons, but it is the spirit of man. Man is essentially a spiritual being. He is the frontier of mystery, and if we realize that, we will rid ourselves of our lower passions and rise to our truer nature. In these matters, Your Majesties, your people and ours agree, and if we are enabled to implement them in our lives, the world will be a better place than what it happens to be today.

INDIA AND AMERICA : COMMON BONDS

Mr President and friends : I am grateful to you for your very kind words. I've been here just 24 hours, and in that short period I've been able to feel the warmth of your welcome, the welcome of the people of this country. You spoke about the common bonds between our two countries.

On the 1st of August, 1942, former President Roosevelt wrote a letter to Gandhi and said : "We two people who believe in democracy and righteousness must make common cause to fight the common enemy." These are words uttered by President Roosevelt in 1942 in a letter which he wrote to Gandhi. "Democracy and righteousness"...that's how he put it. "Democracy" meaning that we look upon every individual as one capable of unlimited possibilities. It is our duty to do our best to make every human being physically fit, mentally alert, and spiritually alive. For that certain fundamental

Reply to President Kennedy's speech of welcome at the White House Dinner, Washington, 3 June, 1963

necessities are required. Poverty must be fought, disease and illiteracy must be removed, and everyone must be given a chance to grow better, to feel nobly, think well and act rightly. That is the aim of democracy. That's why we say democracy and righteousness should go together.

We are now trying to build a world, a world of free, co-operating nations which can work in peace, security and freedom. The conditions necessary for it are available today: science and technology, modern transport and communications, have made the world into a single whole physically. Political arrangements and economic alliances are also bringing the world together. Intellectual ideas, more or less the same, are circulating over the whole world...and yet we have a sense of helplessness. We feel that we do not know what awaits us. It's a problem which every thinking man is now concerned about.

What is it that is wrong? The conditions are available, the future is not predictable, but the past gives us some hope. We have progressed from the stage when we were clothed with skins and armed with stone clubs to the present position. It is due to the spirit of man, the spirit of man which always looks forward and tried to transform the world—not merely get conformed to it—but transform the world itself by transforming ourselves.

We've heard it said that man is a paradoxical being—full of contradictions. The glory of the world and the scandal of it. He could be the crown of creation, but if he doesn't act well he may go down. He is an unfinished being, he has to complete himself, and by discipline and by dedication he can do so. Both of our countries are working for that goal, and I hope that in this endeavour we will succeed.

May I ask you to rise and drink to the health of the President of the United States of America.

THE FUTURE IS NOT INEVITABLE

YOU are entering the world at a crucial period of its history. It's an exciting period. People are concerned about the future of humanity. With all these scientific developments, will it mean the end of human adventure or not, or will they mean such a transformation of the world as to make it a paradise where every man and woman will rise to his or her full stature.

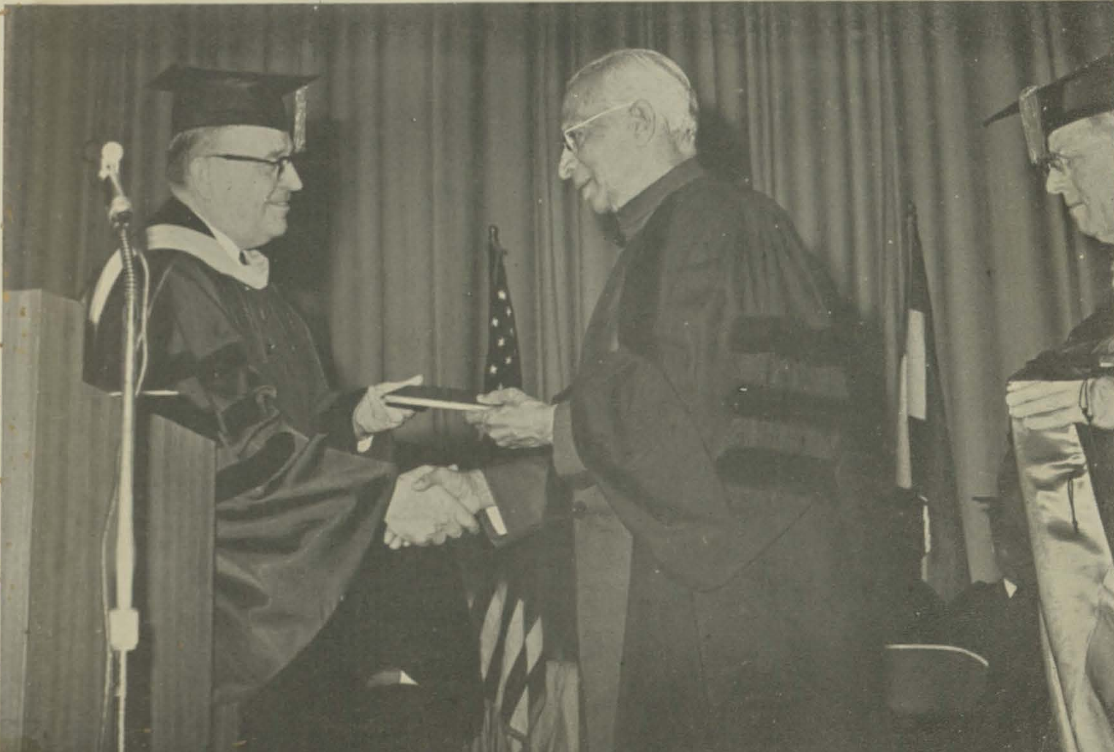
This century opened with a great confidence, but the First World

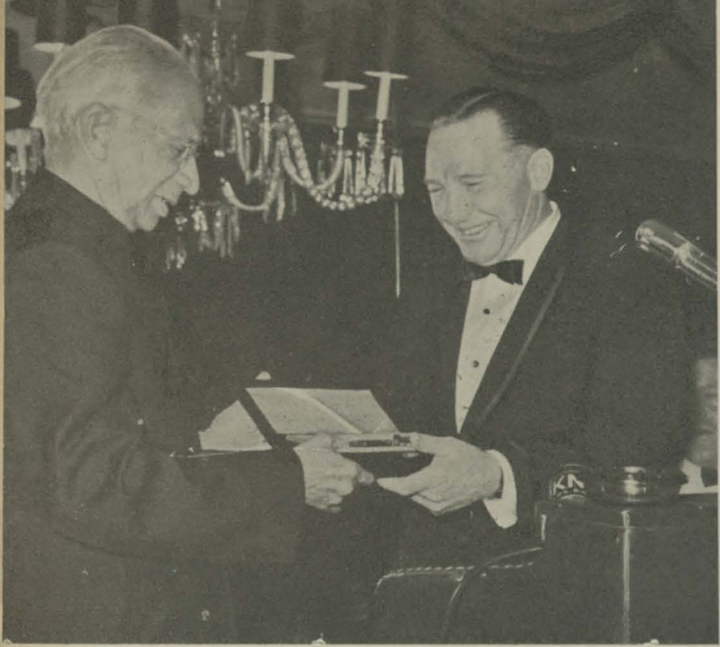
Address at the University of Denver, 7 June, 1963



With President Kennedy at the White House soon after arrival in Washington, 3 June, 1963

Receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of Denver, Colorado, 7 June, 1963



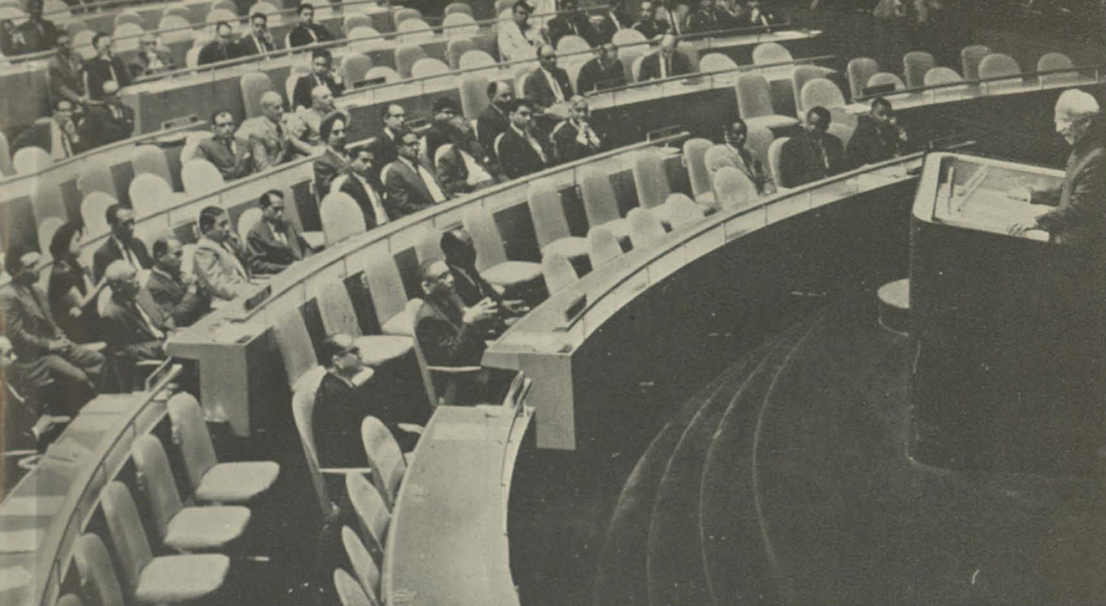




Receiving the Key of the City of Los Angeles from the Mayor, the Hon'ble Samuel Yorty, 8 June, 1963

With some guests at a dinner given in his honour by the Chairman of the Board of Motion Pictures Association of America, 8 June, 1963





Addressing the UN General Assembly, 10 June, 1963

Speaking at a dinner given by the Asia Society, Far East America Council of Commerce and Industry and the India Chamber of Commerce, New York, 10 June, 1963





Leading a ticker tape parade in New York city, 10 June, 1963

War shattered it. In between the two wars you had a period of disillusionment and anxiety and the Second War broke out. After the Second War we are passing through a period of what is called "Cold War" of great prejudices, undercurrents of jealousy, hatred. Nations may become victims of power conflicts, or seek to dominate and make the world into a shambles.

It is in such a period you are entering the world. You as responsible citizens of this country, you can discharge your responsibilities; and to the extent to which you do so in the proper spirit, you will help the survival of the world. The suicidal and destructive passions may be set aside and humanity may have another new chapter of glory and happiness for all.

The future is in our hands—it is *not* inevitable. There is no such thing as historical determinism or scientific determinism or mechanical necessity. The whole past tells us that there is hope for mankind if they are able to use their freedom, their responsibility in the right way.

Yesterday I was at your Aeronautical and Space Research Centre. I saw a missile go up. I saw the men who are working there, men of dedication working in a spirit of sacrifice, who have no evil designs or evil intentions. They are merely trying to increase the knowledge that we have, the knowledge that gives us power, which redeems us from our subjection to the necessities of nature. Every scientist, every technologist, has a creative side in him. He is a co-creator, so to say, with the Divine Himself. They are all trying to refashion the environment, to make it something more worthy of humanity. This science and this technology must be regarded as processes adopted by human beings to overcome the limits of their own physical nature, to be freed from the iron laws of necessity, to make them feel that it is possible for them to refashion their environment. Without that creative spirit in man, nothing great can be achieved. Science and technology, therefore, provide an inspiration to the creative impulses which are stationed in every human being.

If we overlook this creative side, if we make ourselves merely a fraction of nature, if we make ourselves objects in this world, we will become what Aristotle called "animated instruments"... slaves, or animated instruments, having no will of their own. In several places, in concentration camps, in thoroughly organized societies, human beings lose their initiative, their endeavour, and they become objects and don't realize that every human being is a subject and an object. He has in him elements of nature and elements of super-nature—both these things are to be found in unity in every human being. Sometimes they are in conflict, but the scientist, the technologist is one who asserts his freedom, who sits in judgment on nature, who tries to penetrate

the mysteries of nature, tries to control it. He doesn't want to be merely the victim of natural necessity. He tries to understand all the laws which pervade this world.

That is what he is attempting to do. He is aspiring for freedom, for freedom from nature. All quests—metascientific or, metaphysical or religious—are quests for this essential freedom of the human being.

We see the events in the world, we see the events in nature—... poverty, unemployment, disease, death. Are they inevitable? Is it necessary for human beings to suffer from all these things? Is it not possible for human beings to overcome them, to redeem themselves from them and make themselves into essential human beings? That is how all seeking in this world starts. You'll find the Buddha asking: Why is there disease, old age, death? Is there no way out? You'll find Saint Paul asking: "Who shall save me from the body of this death?" Is the temporal process, or the events of this world to be regarded as self-sustaining, self-maintaining, complete ... or is there any principle governing these things, something which inspires them, which forms them, makes them, makes them into living things? Is the world a dead universe, or a living one?

To that question—all the great religions have given one answer. They have said it is possible for us to redeem ourselves from the tyranny of time. It doesn't mean we have to escape from time, it only means that we can overcome and control time. Just as the scientist does not escape from nature, but understands nature, exerts control over nature, even so the religious man says we must escape from the tyranny of time. All the great ones have said it. According to the Scriptures which you venerate, the crucified Lord is not the last word. He is risen. Handel's "Messiah" says: "If worms devoured my body, yet will I see God in my flesh." They all assert that it is possible for the human being to realize that there is a universal aspect, that there is a divine aspect to the human being. It is this divine aspect which is responsible for all the inwardness, for all the creativeness, for all the freedom which men exercise in this world. If we have grown from a stage when we were clothing ourselves with skins and using stone axes to the present state, it is not due to the force of events, it is due to the spirit in man, the spirit which makes him look forward, which tells him that man is yet an unfinished being, he is not a complete one, he is not yet integrated. There are elements in him which have to be subdued into conformity with the divine pattern which he discerns. It is not an easy process. Every man may talk about the reality of God, but few there are who apprehend that reality, who feel it in the pulse of their being. If they do so, it will be impossible for them to have feelings of hatred, jealousy or suspicion of one another.

But man is a paradoxical being. He is full of contradictions. He can rise to heights of genius or fall into depths of degradation. He is at once the glory and scandal of this world. If he is able to use his powers for the purpose of promoting the well-being of humanity, then he works with God, he is a co-worker with Him, and it is God that works in him—not he himself.

But this contradiction in human nature has to be overcome if the world is to settle down as a happy home for humanity. Our great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, whose centenary we celebrated a few years ago, said : "Obstinate are the trammels that bind me, but my heart aches when I try to break them. The shroud which I put on I know is a shroud of dust and death, yet I hug it in love." There is this contradiction. We know the right, we know that our fundamental loyalty is to the world community, we know that we should work not for groups, not for sections, not for races, but for the whole of humanity. Humanity is above all nations . . . national groupings or administrative conveniences, which have developed on account of geographical and historical conditions. We have come to the stage in human history where all these things become subordinate to the one primary loyalty to the human race. That is the challenge which is put on us, which we are facing today. How are we going to face it? It's so terribly hard. The great Christian Saint Augustine in his prayers said : "Oh Lord, give me chastity, but not yet." In other words, the drag of our fallen nature is there and it requires so much of discipline, laceration of our hearts, improving of our minds, the dispersal of all the impulses which make for the destructive side. All this means a casting-off process. Those who profess to be religious must understand that religion requires a great deal of self-denial. It is not something which we can buy. We don't become religious simply because we mutter some hymns, or go to temples and churches. True religion means the unmaking of your lower self and the remaking of your higher self. It is putting yourself into conformity with the spirit of the Divine.

If we are able to do it, if we work for it, it will be possible for us to renovate this world and make it into something which is worthy of humanity.

I had occasion to speak at the Charles University of Prague some years ago. They asked me to define the university spirit. I put before them the example of the great John Hus who was one of the early rectors of that university. In him, I said, you have the true symbol of the university spirit. Fagots were piled up to his neck and the magistrate was there saying : If you withdraw your statements, you'll be let off, otherwise I'll light the fires. His answer was : "Light the fagots." And the last word which he uttered was one

which crosses frontiers of race and nation. He stood for universal humanity when he said "I prefer a good German to a bad Czech." It is not a nation that counts for me, what counts for me is whether a man is good or bad; that is the only criterion which I recognize. I do not think that everyone outside my nationality, whom I regard as alien, is wicked or bad, nor do I think that all men who belong to my nationality are good. I don't adopt such ideas. If you wish to have a symbol of the true university spirit, the spirit which in the Western World has been put forth by Socrates, which was exemplified by many others in later years, it is this spirit of intellectual sincerity and universal love.

Men are born to love and create—not to hate and destroy. It is an abnormal, unnatural process when one man tries to kill another or adopt methods which are ruinous to other people. We should recognize that the same invisible arms are protecting all human beings. They may be estranged from you for a time, but it is merely a temporary estrangement which you will be able to overcome.

I think in this critical period of human history it is those people who are above the strife, above the battle, who think they themselves are the servants of God and humanity, who will constitute the small remnant, the minority, which will raise this world to a higher level. By raising our own spirits, each individual becomes an incarnation of the Supreme. He has got in him the indwelling light. He can't be regarded as deserted by the Supreme. If the Supreme is there, that Supreme protects every individual in this world and nobody is deserted by him. Even when we are tempted to do things alien to us, opposed to our convictions, even when official duty sometimes tempts us to do things which are opposed to one's own personal convictions, you should not do them or do them with tears in your eyes. Standing on the brink of temptation, you should never forget that your supreme loyalty is to God, truth, and humanity.

THE INNER CONFLICT

I AM grateful to the Mayor and his colleagues on the Council for giving me this key to this city in California, the city of Los Angeles. They explained to me that there is real international co-operation in Los Angeles—Spain, Mexico, independent California, and then the United States. The four things are represented there.

Address to the World Affairs Council, Los Angeles, California, 7 June, 1963

The World Affairs Council I had the honour of addressing some years ago, in 1958. The Mayor referred to my association with the League of Nations and the International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation. That ended when the Second World War broke out, and when that war ended, the UNESCO was set up and my activities for intellectual co-operation on an international scale continued.

I think that is what we need most in our world today. Whatever you may say of the great achievements of science and technology, their possibilities for bringing an end to this world, the one good thing that it has done is to bring the nations—races, cultures, civilizations—of the world together. They've come together—never again to part. We have to settle down and work together as members of one community. Our true nationality is the human race, our world is our home. It is that kind of society that is emerging today. The tumult, the agitation, the violence, the anger, and the other things which you come across in this world you will see they are all the birth-pangs of a new world order.

This world has progressed from a state of molten mass of fire to habitation of life, then animals, human beings, and the human beings have come to the state when they are divided by doubts and discord. The revolution is not complete, they have to complete themselves before they can become citizens of a world community.

We are accustomed today to the nation state, also to the military method of solving our international disputes. Both these things have become out of date. The military methods used today, with all these nuclear weapons, are not likely to succeed for gaining of our ends. And as for the nation state, as for our believing that we are the elect of God or designed to be the educators of the human race, every nation claims that, and when so many nations put forth this conflicting claim, conflicts are inevitable.

We have to settle down to a situation where we think that we are all the children of the Supreme, that every nation has a particular contribution to make to this richness of this world, the variety and the wealth of the human society. It is that kind of society that we have to work for.

How can we get it? We know the way in which the nation state was formed. People there were who had their private armies, and we came to the conclusion that if all these disputes between groups and tribes are to be over, we must surrender our right to private violence and hand over whatever powers of coercion we have to a central authority called the State.

There will be sources of unrest, sources of upheavals, dissensions, etc., so long as people are not treated on a fair basis, so long as they do not have opportunities by which they can rise to their full stature,

so long as some people are submerged and a few illustrious men enjoy all the privileges and the large numbers suffer from privation and poverty, unemployment, etc.

So if a nation state is to be stabilized, all the citizens of that state should have the right to express themselves. Opportunities for self-expression, self-development must be accorded to them.

If we surrender our private armies and hand over the instruments of coercion to a central authority, and also try to remove all the causes which bring about social unrest, we shall then have a national purpose, some community of ideals, some objectives which bind all the citizens together. If we have that, the nation becomes a stable one. Surrender of private armies, settlement of differences among the people, and the development of a common objective, a common purpose . . . we have to transfer this to the international scale. Some part of the sovereignty of the nations of the world will have to be given over to a central authority. And if there are among the nations of the world sources of dispute arising from political domination, racial discrimination or economic exploitation, we must do our best to remove these sources which are the causes of conflict in this world.

And apart from these two things we must develop common purposes, common ideals, community of objectives. That is necessary. That is why I think international co-operation will come, whether it will come in UNESCO or the World Food Congress or in the ILO or WHO. What we are trying to do today is to take the world as a single unit and look upon the sufferings of other people as our own sufferings. If that spirit permeates all our activities, it will be possible for us to work for that new society which is beckoning us on the horizon.

The real conflict is in the minds of men. We know the right, we know what is inevitable, we know what is in the mind of events, what is the purpose of this world. All the prophets, all the seers, have told us that. But yet there is the resistance coming from our past traditions, from our past history. We still cling to the nation state. We still believe in the principle "Might is right." That is why we are going on piling up armaments. If they explode there may be disaster. Even if they don't break up, if you are testing these nuclear weapons, it means radioactive substances will be deposited in the bodies of men killing them slowly—if not quickly. That is bound to happen; it is happening now, on some scale or other. The armament makers tell us nothing serious is happening, but the fact is there. It is this conflict between the future world society which asks us to look upon all nations as contributory elements to a larger hope, and our own society of rival, sovereign powers, each trying to dominate the other.

It is this conflict which is going on in the hearts of men, a conflict between the future and the past.

We should not be wedded to the past, we should advance into the future. That can happen only if men's minds and hearts become enlarged. It is the expansion, the illumination of one's own consciousness, the growth of the mind of human beings, that can bring about such a society. The new world order, the new world society, a world conscience, a world community, these have to be established.

I have no doubt that we are aware of this and we are prepared, at any rate the enlightened in some countries, in many countries, in every country possibly, they are prepared to look upon humanity as something above all nations, to realize that in this world no nation is immortal, just as no individual is immortal. So many civilizations have come, floated on the surface, disappeared again. What remains is humanity. It is for the sake of that humanity that we have to work.

All that I wish to say today is that we should regard ourselves members of that future commonwealth of nations comprising the whole world.

ISSUES AND ANSWERS

Question : *One of the advantages in talking with the distinguished leader of the non-aligned world is that it gives one an opportunity to hear a detached view of many problems including the East-West struggle. Based on your observations, Sir, could you tell us whether East and West can much longer pursue this struggle without blowing up each other and a large part of the world with them?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : When you speak of "East and West" you're not talking about the geographical areas of East and West. When your President said the two largest democracies, one in the West, the other in the East, he is referring to the geographical situation.

You are talking about the political East and West, the democratic and the communist, that's what you're asking about. My feeling is, it is our duty to turn the face of the world towards the sun and give the people a kind of optimistic outlook in the matter.

We have had conflicts of this character for many centuries, the Greeks and the Barbarians, the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Catholics and the Protestants, the Axis Power and the Allies. . . and now we are facing this conflict between the Communist World and the

Televised interview by Diplomatic Correspondent of the American Broadcasting Corporation, 9 June, 1963

non-Communist World. All these other conflicts were settled by war sometimes, but each of the participants influenced the other : the Barbarians influenced the Greeks, the Catholics and the Protestants have influenced each other, the Axis Powers and the Allies are today great friends, and there is no reason why we should go through a catastrophe before we can settle down to peace.

I had an opportunity of addressing your Senate some years ago when I referred to this problem and said : Given the healing power of time, the resilience of human nature, the mutability of social and political institutions, and above all the mercy of Providence, the conflicts which divide us may fade into insignificance and we may settle down as friends, co-operating with each other in a world of free, independent nations. That's my hope, and events that have happened justify what I said some years ago.

Mr Khrushchev the other day said : We have a great deal to learn from capitalism. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is one of compromise. Even with regard to the testing of the nuclear weapons, we have come to a matter of arithmetic. The Soviets are agreeable to three inspection tests; the Americans are asking for seven or eight... and it is just possible we may come to an agreement on that issue, because human beings as human beings are interested instinctively in surviyal, in self-preservation.

All the great nations which have nuclear weapons may have them, but the tendency to survive, to preserve themselves is there, and I have no doubt that that instinct will survive.

That is why I say that we should try to put the positive impulses which are now working in bringing the two groups nearer each other... it should be emphasized, these creative impulses should be strengthened, and the world should not be allowed to pass off into annihilation. It *will* survive the suicidal destructive passions of the people who are led astray.

Question : *Mr President, do you see a satisfactory East-West agreement to ban all further nuclear testing—perhaps as an indispensable key to greater understanding between East and West ?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : I was in the Soviet Union for two to three years, 1949 to 1952. I've met Mr Khrushchev later on three or four occasions, and he made it clear to me once that it is their endeavour to build a welfare state in their country. And some of the things he has given expression to show that he has a great sense of humour, he can laugh at himself, that means the human element is asserting itself. I remember what he said to a London audience. He put it to them : "I know what your criticisms about us are...I met a student and asked him who wrote *Anna Karenina.* His answer was 'I did not write it'. He said it in tears and trembling. He asked the teacher : 'What kind of

instruction do you give to these people ?' The teacher came three days later and said : 'He now confesses that he wrote it.' "

Well, that gives us an idea of the way in which even Mr Khrushchev can laugh at himself, and can take note of the difficulties and the criticisms which are levelled against his system by outsiders. When a man can laugh at himself, there is hope for him.

I remember another. . .on the radio. The question was asked : "What is capitalism ?" "Man exploiting man." "What is communism ?" "The opposite of it".

You see there that even the Soviet radio can give an expression like that. It means that they are trying to have some communication established between the East and the West. . .it is for lack of communication that we suffer, and if we establish communication there is possibility of better understanding. That's what I feel.

Question : *Mr President, you mentioned that the East-West dialogue over disarmament now is a question of arithmetic. How many inspections each side will permit ? Yet the Soviet Union in saying it will allow two or three inspections has not spelled out the kind of inspection it has in mind and this has been a major drawback and obstacle at the moment. Do you think that adequate safeguarded inspection is an indispensable quality to any agreement on this ?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : It is an essential condition, but we should not lose patience or hope. That's what I feel. If we persist in our endeavours we will succeed.

Question : *On another matter, Mr President, in your eloquent address before the World Food Congress, you called attention to the urgent need to solve the problem of hunger around the world if mankind is to know any relief from the tensions that beset it. Yet Arnold Toynbee, the distinguished British historian, said that this campaign against hunger could never be won unless there was a systematic attack on the problem of birth control. Could you give us your views on this ?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : Well, in our country we are pursuing both together. They're attempting to increase food production, and we are also planning limitation of population. We are pursuing both these things simultaneously. And that means we expect other countries also to do the same. It's a great problem of these small countries. They will all be able to divert their resources for the increase of food production for social and economic development if the burden of armaments on them is reduced. And I am hopeful that if great powers in the United Nations agree to give them protection and security, many of the small nations will try to reduce their armaments. It is for the lack of this security against attack, against aggression, that smaller nations against their will are obliged to pile up armaments also.

I think with a system of security for the smaller nations guaranteed by the United Nations . . . you can bring down the expenditure of small nations and it will help them to develop their resources and bring about economic development, social development. They are the primary crying needs.

Question : *Mr President, doesn't the United Nations already provide such a guarantee ? Doesn't it extend an umbrella of security over the heads of the weaker members ?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : You see, it's still a matter of conciliation and diplomacy, etc. But it hasn't got any kind of collective force which it could employ when dangers arise.

Take the question of Laos today. You are having some trouble there, and the situation is getting more or less beyond our control when the civil forces are fighting, two different parties are fighting each other. I mean, if there is a guarantee system of security, the integrity of such small states will be secured. That's what I feel.

Question : *Sir, you mentioned Premier Khrushchev and the positive role he can play in world peace. . .is your view of the communist leadership. . .is it the same ?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : Well, he is now the leader. And he will continue to be the leader for some years to come, and he has a liberal, humane kind of temperament. He is anxious for peace so far as I am able to study his nature. So are the great powers. . .your country, your government, is eager for peace. . .the way in which the Cuban crisis was sorted out, at least for the time being, showed the inclination of both the Russian and American leaders to come to some kind of agreement and understanding. That has happened. Instead of merely meeting crises as they arise day after day, if we have a long plan, then you will be able to bring about a settlement of this problem.

My feeling is we have to tackle these problems no doubt as they arise, but we should also have a long-term plan of how this world would settle down and become a home for humanity. . .not a world of strife and intrigue.

Question : *As you look at the struggle between Communist China and the Soviet Union on ideology, do you see this as more an internal quarrel over tactics, or is it a clash in basic philosophy on how to promote world communism ?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : It is beyond me to answer that question because I do not know what exactly the nature of the conflict is, but there is a rift at the moment. . .but that rift may also be closed. Or, it is just possible that it may widen. . .it depends on the developments that take place hereafter. We should try to see that they are brought closer. You see we are suffering in regard to China because of lack of communication with China. Your people, for example, can't go there,

and they don't understand what is happening there. If there should be greater communication, I think you will expose China also to the winds of public opinion. . .and some kind of effect will be felt by them and some changes are likely to take place.

I don't want to give reason for baseless optimism or groundless despair. . .I want to avoid both extremes. . .I want to be realistic, take reality of the situation, and at the same time to work out a settlement which will make this world worthy of humanity. . .that is what I am anxious about. That is why I want strengthened the creative impulses in man. Man, as you know, is a mass of contradictions, has got so many things. On one side he would inflict harm; on the other side he will heal the injuries. There is the Red Cross Organization on the one side, hospitals, etc., and nuclear armaments on the other. The two things are in conflict. The heart of man is the battlefield where these things are fought out. What is necessary is to strengthen the creative impulses and suppress as far as possible the destructive impulses. Discipline, control, and a large amount of the sense of humanity. . .that humanity is above all nations and, as our leader Gandhi once said : "I want freedom for my countrymen. They have fallen prostrate and they can't be of help to anybody. But a free and enlightened India can be of help to humanity. I want my country to be free so that if necessary it may die for the sake of humanity."

I feel that I am a servant of humanity and not of my particular nation. That concept of humanity being above all nations is gradually growing in the consciousness of people. A new world society *is* emerging and the tumult, the anger, the violence, etc., are the birth pangs of this emerging new world order. And if the heart of man is sound, his will will prevail and he will be able to bring about a single world, a federated world, where all the nations will have the opportunity to develop according to their own genius culturally, industrially, etc. And all nations will surrender a fraction of their sovereignty to a central authority for the sake of world fellowship.

Question : *Mr President, you spoke of destructive impulses. Communist China apparently followed one of these destructive impulses recently in attacking Indian territory. Could you tell us as an observer of what happened in your country, Sir, whether you have detected any lessening of enthusiasm among the Indian people for the policy of non-alignment ?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : Well, so far as the policy of non-alignment is concerned, I should like you to understand that it has been helpful not only to the non-aligned countries but to the world as a whole. When you were on a search for a Chairman of the Korean Commission who does not belong either to this group or that group, you had to ask India to be the Chairman of that Commission.

Similarly, in regard to Laos. If there were not a country like India non-aligned, you would have had to discover it. To avoid this polarization and to bring the opposing parties, the belligerents together, nearer each other, it is possible—I have come to the United States—that I may go to the Soviet Union. My one endeavour will be to bring the two together, nearer each other, and without being suspected of being partisan, of taking sides of this group or that group. That possibility is open to us for the simple reason we have not aligned ourselves with this or that, but we are aligned to democracy, to freedom, to peaceful solutions of all outstanding disputes...we are committed to these things. You can't say because we are non-involved in military blocs... "alignment" is not the right word...it doesn't follow that we are not committed to the fundamental values of democracy : freedom, peaceful changes, and bringing the world together...working for reconciliation and peace and not for conflict and discord.

Question : *As a result of the Chinese Communist attack, Mr President, are you also aligned, so to speak, to the need for a far stronger Indian military force to help back up the policy of non-alignment?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : I may tell you that we want to strengthen our defensive force not for offensive purposes, not for attacking another country, not for asking for other people's territories, but for defending ourselves when attacked. Military weakness has been a temptation and a little military strength will be a deterrent. In other words, we want in this imperfect world, where there is no central authority which has got executive power to enforce just decisions, where war is still the instrument of carrying out a mandate of justice...it is necessary for us to have these forces. Your coat of arms shows olive leaves and arrows...you work for peace and, at the same time, you have got preparedness. You have both these things.

I suppose in the present condition of the world until we work towards a better central organization, we have to continue to keep our military forces intact.

Question : *Mr President, many Western observers believe that the Chinese Communist attack on India also was aimed at influencing Asians to believe that the Chinese Communist philosophy offers a surer and quicker way towards economic progress and happiness for Asians. Would you agree that the Chinese Communists' apparent success in holding on to Indian territory has increased the prestige of Communist China in Asia?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : Possibly. But the democratic way of life, which we have adopted, *is* succeeding to a large extent in raising the standards of our people and that example of ours is also infectious, and there are people who believe that this gives us more enduring results than the other one...though at the moment, on account of the military

success of China, there may be people who may be tempted to believe that China's way is perhaps better. . .maybe, but it won't last long.

Question : *Would you agree with those who see in Asia a critical struggle between India and Communist China in the economic field? A race to show which system the Indian democratic way of life, or the Communist Chinese way of doing things, promises a happier future?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : I have no doubt our method promises a happier future, because it safeguards the freedom of the human spirit. It enables us—even when we are defeated or suppressed—that we do so with our souls clean. And there is no question that come what may, the democratic way of life is the right way, and it is the way which will succeed. I believe it is the mind of events, the will of the universe and the purpose of Providence that this world should become one of like-minded people, working freely, in security, and trying to bring all nations together. . .under one common law, at least, respect for law and respect for justice must be there. . .innate principles in the human heart.

Question : *President Radhakrishnan, one of the more memorable contributions of India's struggle for independence is the memory of how passive resistance succeeded in winning freedom for India when violence did not work. Could you tell us, Sir, whether and how passive resistance succeeded in India—and whether this principle can be adopted in other lands, say in the United States. . .to enforce the drive for civil rights?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : It is happening in some way—even in the United States in the enforcement of civil rights. . .but it is not for me to give any opinion on that question. So far as we are concerned, we were able to win our freedom without the employment of political deceit, cunning or violence. . .and circumstances in the world also collaborated toward the realization of that ideal, and the example of India has been one of the great lessons for humanity. I can't say whether it could be adopted in other contexts, other conditions, other circumstances. . .it all depends.

Question : *Well, would you say that passive resistance was one of the truly great forces in the World today?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : I can't say it is one of the great forces in the world today. I think here and there a few people are practising it, but we can't say more.

Question : *Mr President, Secretary Rusk pointed out recently that because the United States is the leader, so-called, of the Free World, that many countries expect the maximum from us in the way of civil rights and progress toward equality, and that this sometimes creates an unfair impression abroad when there are race disturbances here. Could you say, as an observer, whether the progress that has been*

made in the civil rights field is understood abroad, or whether the image of America now as a result of the happenings of the past few weeks is one of violence and police clubbing people?

Dr Radhakrishnan : We know our difficulties. We know the way in which we are trying to abolish caste, untouchability, etc. We have introduced them into our Constitution, but implementing them takes a long way. I think the conscience of America is clear that desegregation of Negro people and the assertion of civil rights must be established. And therefore, I believe that you are on the right way and things are moving in the right direction.

Question : *Sir, you have just finished discussions with President Kennedy and could you tell us whether as a result of your talks you feel the United States is as firmly dedicated to peace as you believed before you came?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : Yes, I do believe that.

Question : *Could you also tell us, Sir, whether in your view President Kennedy is moving ahead in the right direction as far as aid to India is concerned?*

Dr Radhakrishnan : I think he's anxious to aid India...that's what I gather, and he will do his best.

The Correspondent : *Well, President Radhakrishnan, it has been a real pleasure to talk with you today on 'Issues and Answers' and thank you very much for sharing with us some of your insights and your philosophy.*

Thank you again.

A WORLD COMMUNITY

THE United Nations Organization symbolizes the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world for a central authority which can control the activities of all nations eventually. Science and technology have brought the world together and made of it a single body. Economic systems are becoming interdependent. Intellectual ideas are circulating all over the world. And what is necessary is to give a soul to this organization which is shaping itself before our eyes.

The United Nations hopes to supply that soul, or that conscience to the world community which is emerging.

When it was started, it had 51 members. Today it has 111. Still, it has not attained universality. If the decisions of the United Nations

Speech at the United Nations General Assembly, 10 June, 1963

are to be depended upon, almost all the nations of the world should become members of this organization, the one security we have for seeing to it that our decisions are implemented by all nations is the achievement of universality in the membership of the United Nations.

India has been a founding member of the United Nations Organization. To the best of her ability she has contributed to the work of the United Nations. She has supplied forces in the Congo, in Gaza, and served as Chairman of the Korean Commission. In all these ways, it has tried to help the work of the United Nations. It has extreme faith in the Organization and it will do everything in its power to strengthen its authority and its influence.

There are many people who think that this Organization has not done all one could expect of the United Nations. But we should look to the work it has done, the work in Congo, the encouragement it gave to liberation movements themselves, and the way in which it brought about the dispassionate and objective discussion of problems of disarmament and nuclear test bans. In these ways it has done substantial work even though it may not reach up to the expectations we have.

In the specialized agencies of the United Nations, much good is being done. The Charter of the United Nations affirms faith in the worth and dignity of the human individual. If you believe in the worth and dignity of the human individual, it is necessary for you to do anything and everything in your power to promote the integrity of the physical well being of human individuals.

The Food and Agriculture Organization is attempting to remedy the defects which now prevail. Two-thirds of the world's population suffer from malnutrition, they suffer from hunger. Well, that reality must be a reminder to us that we are not truly human until we are able to remove these deficiencies themselves.

The WHO affirms that every individual has a right to medical care—to conditions of health and sanitation. UNESCO wants to protect the moral personality, the cultural distinctiveness of every individual. It is not enough merely to live as physical beings in this world, we must develop our minds, hearts, and spirit. The UNESCO by all its work is trying to do its best to promote the personality, cultural personality, so to say, of human beings themselves. These things are being attempted by the different agencies which we have.

In all these matters the United Nations has had the support. The Pope, whose death we mourn, served the cause of humanity. As a true servant of God and humanity, he tried to devote the last years of his life for the reconciliation of the peoples.

But the main task of the United Nations Organization is to save humanity from the scourge of war. To use the words of its Charter : How can we save human generations from war ? We are trying to

remove obvious causes of wars. Political domination, racial discrimination, economic exploitation. In the past history of the world these were the things which led to wars, and if we try our best to remove political domination, that is, to end colonialism, and if we also remove economic exploitation. . .in other words, bring about prosperity in all parts of the world and get rid of racial discrimination, we'll build up a world which can work for peace, which can make for peace.

It is true that we are unable to do it effectively. This decade has been called "A Development Decade," but actually the disparities between the rich and the poor nations have been steadily on the increase. The under-developed nations have not been able to get the technical knowledge and skill necessary for raising the standards of their peoples, and unless these things are brought to the doors of the common peoples of other countries, of the developing nations, unless we help them with investment for capital, it is not possible for them to raise their standards.

So what is called "A Development Decade" has not turned out to be truly a Development Decade. We must take some special steps to bring about real development there. But the most essential part of the work of the United Nations is to save the world from wars. What is it that we find actually? The piling up of armaments and nuclear tests. These things do not give us much hope. We feel that if these armaments go on piling up, if the stockpiles increase, by accident or mistake, the world may burst into flames. Even if that does not happen, when we have the nuclear tests, they are bound to injure not only the present generations but the generations still unborn. We deliberately consign thousands and thousands of young children throughout the world to this kind of decadence, physical and mental. This is what we are doing. Why is it that when we know actually what the results of these things are we are unable to prevent them? There is something radically wrong. We are the victims of the past. We don't wish to be the servants of the future.

We are the victims of a nationalist and a militarist kind of society, where nations are regarded as supreme and for achieving the aims and political ambitions of those nations, we hitherto resorted to the use of force, but we have come to the condition when the nation state has to be subordinated to the larger concept of world community. Unless we are able to do it, unless we give up the use of force, intolerable, detestable and wicked in a world where nuclear weapons have developed. . .it will not be possible for us to bring about peace in this world.

What are we trying to do? It is a change in the minds of men that has to be brought about. We are still believing in the nation state and in the right to use force to have our own aims realized. These are the things which have us by the throat. Though we are members of this international community, though we call ourselves members of



Being decorated with a gold medal by the acting Mayor of New York, 10 June, 1963

Being received by Her Majesty the Queen of England and the Duke of Edinburgh at Victoria Railway Station in London on arrival, 12 June, 1963





Driving in state to Buckingham Palace, 12 June, 1963



Inspecting a Guard of Honour presented by the 2nd Battalion, London, 12 June, 1963



Addressing Pressmen at Marlborough House, London, 12 June, 1963

the United Nations, our loyalties are to our own nation states, they are not to the world as a whole, not to humanity as a whole. You must break away from the past. We must get out of the rut in which we have lived.

Gandhi once said : "I want my country to be free. I do not want a fallen and prostrate India. I want an India which is free and enlightened. Such an India, if necessary, should be prepared to die so that humanity may live."

Nationalism is not the highest concept. The highest concept is world community. It is that kind of world community to which we have to attach ourselves. It is unfortunate that we are still the victims of concepts which are outmoded, which are outdated, so to say. We are living in a new world, and in a new world a new type of man is necessary, and unless we are to change our minds, to change our hearts, it will not be possible for us to survive in this world.

The challenge that is open to us is survival or annihilation. It is easy for us to say we wish to survive, but what are we doing to bring about that survival? Are we prepared to surrender a fraction of our national sovereignty for the sake of a world order? Are we prepared to submit our disputes and quarrels to arbitration, to negotiation and settlement by peaceful methods? Have we set up a machinery by which peaceful changes could be easily brought about in this world? So long as we do not have it, it is no use merely talking.

The concept of one world must be implemented in every action of every nation, if that one world is to become established. I have no doubt that the world will become one. As I said the other day, it is in the mind of events, it is the will of the universe, it is the purpose of Providence. We are being led from state to state to the concept of one family on earth. If we're able to achieve it, we should do so by handling our own minds and hearts. Our task today is to deal with the souls of men; it is there that the changes have to be brought about. Before outer organizations are established, inward changes have to take place. An outer crisis is a reflection of an inward chaos, and if the chaos inside the minds and hearts of men. . . if that is not removed, we can't bring about a more satisfactory world order.

I have nothing more to say except to pay my tribute to your Secretary General who has been quietly and unostentatiously doing the work of the United Nations despite so many obstacles and difficulties.

OUR NATIONALITY IS THE HUMAN RACE

THIS is a bewildered, tormented generation. What stands in the way of unity or fellowship is disunity and some kind of antagonism, a kind of friction, jealousy, suspicion, hatred. These are the things which stand in the way of establishing the beautiful city of which she sang. In art you have the universal language which transcends all barriers of races and nations, where politics and economics may divide people, art and literature make for fellowship, bring people together, and if we are to establish one world, it can be established through the spread of cultural knowledge of different parts of this world.

Whatever the scientific developments may have achieved, whatever possibilities of destruction they may contain, one good thing these things have brought about, that is, they have brought the peoples of the world, the cultures of the world together. And it will enable us to understand one another better. It should be our endeavour to look for the virtues of other individuals, of other cultures, and if we do that, we'll get together.

When we take an artist, or a literary writer, we judge him, or her, by the masterpieces. . .not by the failures which they may have passed through. Even so, when we look at great cultures and great civilizations, we should try to find out what are the elements of universal value that those things contain, and they will become the common heritage of mankind.

The International Centre, to which Mr Rockefeller just referred, is an instrument for the bringing together of peoples of different parts of the world, making them pool their resources and enabling us to understand, so to say, the greatest lessons of humanity.

In our country we have had this tradition for a long time. It's a country of 450 million people, practising different religions, speaking different languages, in different stages of development. But all these have been held together within the framework of democratic institutions, without the use of any kind of coercion.

We have had for the last 15 years administrative continuity and administrative stability. All the religions exist in peaceful co-operation. We have had a great tradition in our country. . .4000 years old. . .a tradition which makes out that a truly religious man is to be judged not by the doctrines he professes, or the rituals he practises, but by the kind of life he leads. Religion is not doctrinal conformity or ceremonial piety. It is a personal encounter of the individual with the Supreme. It is seeing God face to face. If anyone achieves that,

Speech at dinner given by the Asia Society, the Far East America Council of Commerce and Industry and the India Chamber of Commerce, New York, 10 June, 1963

he is an authentically religious man. He will cease to be a member of this or that particular group, he will look upon all humanity as the offspring of the Divine Spirit. He will realize that although the ways to the top of the hill may turn and twist, when once we reach the hilltop a kind of spiritual landscape which we notice there is exactly the same from whatever direction you may approach it. In that case, you will feel that it is impertinent and irrelevant and absurd for us to quarrel about the ways which we have adopted for reaching the top.

That kind of tradition enabled us in India to welcome the Jews from Jerusalem in the First Century, the Christians in the Second Century, the Parsees in the Seventh Century, in the Eighth or Ninth, the Muslims. We had had in India practitioners in all these religions carrying on their different forms of worship without any kind of ill will or malice towards one another. It was when political considerations interfered with religious pursuits that trouble started. So long as we looked upon religion as the supreme endeavour of man by which he tries to complete his being, to integrate his nature, so long as we believe that man is incomplete, is unregenerated, so to say, is unfinished, and he has to fulfil himself, he has to complete himself, we know that that kind of completeness can be achieved not by words of mouth or by acts of mere piety, however helpful they may be, but by a complete remaking of one's own self.

Man, as he is, is a bundle of contradictions. The ideals which he cherishes and the actualities...they conflict with each other. "The good that I would, I do not; the evil that I would not, that I do." That's the contradiction of man. It shows his incompleteness, it shows the need for him to pass through a kind of a discipline, a kind of a churning of his mind by which he is able to get rid of the destructive impulses which are there and begin to integrate his nature. Then it is we call it "a reborn creature." He has realized his inwardness, his freedom, his pure subjectivity which is superior to the objective world of things that happen.

Such an attitude has enabled India to adopt an attitude of hospitality towards all religions, an attitude of respect for all faiths, appreciation of all faiths, not mere negative toleration by which we can learn from one another. Such an approach has enabled me in my own small way to speak in Christian churches, Muslim mosques, Buddhist monasteries, Hindu temples, without any compromise of my intellectual conscience or injury to my spiritual convictions.

I feel that the Supreme Mystery is to be felt in the pulse of your being, something which you have to experience in your inward parts, and not something to which you pay any kind of lip allegiance or mere intellectual subscription. That is *not* religion. It may be what passes for religion, but can't be regarded as true religion.

Therefore, the religious differences did not bar the development of some kind of unity in our country. Many languages we have had, even then we were able to get together, to make them feel they are derived from one common stock, that they are instruments of communication, they are not to be regarded as barriers that divide people. Only recently we had a resolution passed in our Assembly, our Legislature, making Hindi the official language and English an alternate official language. That is what we have done.

The greatest problem we are facing, we have faced, is poverty. That's the thing we have to get rid of. To feed, clothe and shelter 450 million people is not an easy task. We are trying our very best to get to each one the wherewithal for his self-expression and self-development. It's a terrific problem. We are attacking the evils of poverty, illiteracy, hunger and malnutrition and unemployment. Our goal has been there and we have been trying to do our utmost to improve the conditions. In this endeavour we have received assistance from outside, from this country, but it has to be remembered that in all these attempts in improving our conditions, in the new projects that we have adopted, nearly 75 per cent of the investment capital has come from our own country, and what is got from outside is about 25 per cent.

What I wish to indicate is we have done our utmost to develop our own resources. Recently we have had this problem of doubling our defence expenditure, a thing we are obliged to do much against our will, much against the grain of our nature. We are brought up in a tradition which makes us believe—from the time of the Buddha down to today—"Victory breeds hatred, the vanquished live in sorrow." War is detestable, wicked at all times, and that we are obliged to wage war is something that is not to be undertaken in any spirit of complacency. We know that it is something to be avoided. We feel certain that if an organization like the United Nations is able to develop sufficient authority, sufficient power, to give protection to all the weaker states of the world, make them feel that it is not necessary for them to spend their resources in the building of armaments, but the security of these small states will be the obligation of the United Nations, some central authority like that, we will be prepared to surrender a fraction of our sovereignty and hand it over to an organization like that. In the absence of such an organization, such a power, such an authority, with legislative and executive backing, we are obliged to look to ourselves for our security.

And we have adopted an austere budget, a budget which has doubled the expenditure on defence in recent times. We have done it with good will to show to the world our determination to preserve

our security, our freedom and our independence. That is what we have done.

In all these matters, when we think of the facts that we know, that a nuclear war will be a disaster to humanity, it will mean the suicide and destruction of all things, when we know that, why is it that we still go along piling up armaments? Why is it that we are doing what our inmost conscience tells us is something which is wrong? That is because in human nature itself there is a polarity, there is a dichotomy. Tagore put it: "Obstinate are the trammels, but my heart aches when I try to break them. The shroud that I wear is a shroud of dust and death, yet I hug it in love." In other words, we know what is right, but we have not developed the strength, the will power, the capacity to get rid of our weakness and stand up and see to it that the light which is in us overcomes completely the darkness and makes us people whose whole lives reflect the imprisoned splendour, so to say.

We may enter the light, but to touch the flame requires a complete transformation of human nature. And when that transformation takes place, we will become worthy of becoming citizens of this great planet, when we look upon one another with affection and sympathy, and even when there is estrangement, misunderstanding, we'll adopt an attitude of love and fellowship, believing all the time that human beings are born to love and to create—not to hate and destroy.

It is that kind of feeling that can come. Only people who are above the strife, above the battles of dissent, only such people will be able to say: This thing which is prompting me, which is tempting me today, is something of which I am ashamed.

Well, I want really to put to you that we are grateful to the America Council, to the India Chamber of Commerce and to the Asia Society for organizing this function, for telling us that you are concerned in our well-being. We should all be concerned with one another's well-being.

And the great question: Who is my neighbour? Not a man of your race, or your nationality, or your creed, but anyone who happens to be in need is your neighbour. That's the only demand on our sympathy....if anyone is there suffering, we must go out. The call of compassion should be there. That's the only true kind of religion in your city. An authentically religious man will never condemn, will never sit in judgment, but will understand, sympathize, help to raise....and by raising our own selves above that present level, we will be able also to make the world move a little faster towards the goal.

I have no doubt in my mind that we are moving forward, that all these great achievements of science and technology are there for

the purpose of producing a single world, a kind of paradise on earth. All the resources are there, the intellectual achievements are there, the will also is there, but not that dedication, that capacity to rise above narrow group loyalties. . .and transforming these loyalties into loyalty to one single world community.

We should not wish to conform to the groups from which we rose. We should transform ourselves so completely as to show that we are citizens of the world. Our one nationality is the human race, our home is the world.

CITIZENS OF THE WORLD

I AM very happy to meet so many of you who are working in this University and in its neighbourhood. It is a matter of gratification for us that you people are getting the best training possible in the several subjects of your choice. You have greater opportunities than many of your fellow-countrymen who have not got the privilege of coming out and getting trained by very competent men in such parts of England. I hope you are taking full advantage of your opportunities, and when you return to our country, I hope, you will be of great service in the development of our country. As you know after we obtained our Independence, our next problem was to fight poverty, to fight hunger, malnutrition, unemployment and other evils, from which millions of our people suffer. And we can remove those things only by the application of science and technology to agriculture and industry. And you, who have come here, I have no doubt, will be of considerable use to us when you get back to our country and try to help us in rebuilding our economy.

I was gratified here to see so many of you from so many parts of our country and it gave me special satisfaction to see a number of people from Pakistan who are also getting training here. It is a matter of great pleasure for me to see that you are all working together here in a spirit of amity and harmony. It is my hope and desire when you return to our country, you will forget your small differences—differences of province, region, language and districts from which you come—and work together as belonging to one great country which has, in spite of all the vicissitudes through which it has passed, a great tradition that has come down from four to five millennia, so that it gives you a sense of satisfaction—satisfaction that you were

Speech at the reception at Manchester University, 17 June, 1963

able to encounter all the troubles that faced you, able to survive and able to stand up, even today, to be a nation which is able to contribute its might to the development not only of the country but of humanity at large. That is what you should work for. The real obstacles to any kind of progress in the world are due to exploitation of man by man—whether it is political or economic, or racial. Unless we are able to remove this kind of exploitation this world cannot settle down. We want to see a world that is a family of free nations, co-operating one with another for the purpose of building up a happy home for humanity.

The obstacles are generally due to this kind of exploitation. Don't imagine that the differences between the so-called rival ideologies are very vital and great. Only the other day in a radio programme of the Soviet Union the question was raised "What is meant by capitalism ?" and the answer was given, "The exploitation of man by man." To "What is communism ?" the answer was "The opposite of it." You needn't imagine that exploitation is the peculiar quality of the capitalist systems and that the Communist systems are free or *vice versa*. We are all struggling to achieve the same ends. One thing that is happening today is that capitalism is moving away from its own fundamental positions, as they were some years ago, and communism is also moving away from some of the positions it occupied once upon a time.

When you find a man like Khrushchev declaring to you openly, "We have a great deal to learn from capitalism," and Soviet foreign policy has for its fundamental principle, compromise; and when he says that the inevitability of war between the two systems is an outmoded doctrine, whatever may have been its validity at the time it was formulated, today in this nuclear context it has no meaning whatsoever. There will be no justice at all if we should stick to these principles which were enunciated once upon a time. Marx himself said, "I enunciated certain doctrines but there is no such thing as Marxism." He himself at the beginning of his career said, "Religion is the heart of a heartless world." Later on, when he found religious people compromising with iniquities he said, "It is the opiate of the people." There has been a change in his standpoint from the first when he declared that religion was the heart of a heartless world to the position when he said it was the opiate of the common people, lulling them into a sense of false security. In other words there is no such thing as the immutability of social and political institutions. They are all time-changing. There is nothing which is fixed or static in this world. We call the world something which perpetually moves, which is never static which is never stagnant. Our culture has been able to survive all the shocks which it has encountered for the simple reason that it has the quality of self-renewal : it met different cultures—the Aryan

and the Dravidian, the Hindu and the Buddhist, the Christian and the Jew. The Hindu and the Muslim, the British and the Western influences, etc.—all these things have been made into part of one common culture, which we call the Indian culture. It is neither Hindu, nor Muslim, nor Jewish, nor Christian. It is Indian in its outlook and in its spirit. And every one of us must try to see the spirit of that culture, which accepted differences, which never looked upon diversity as a source of discord but looked upon diversity as something which contributes to the richness, variety and the majesty and the scope of the world. That is how we look upon the varying things which have taken habitation in our country. There is nothing for us to be ashamed about if you look at the fact that 450 million people, belonging to different religions and speaking different languages, are held together under a single administration, without any coercion, without resort to dictatorship or totalitarianism, but by means of persuasion and consent through the working of parliamentary institutions. Show me another 450 million people who have been held together under democratic institutions by the force of sheer persuasion and consent without exercise of any kind of violence or any kind of dictatorship. You will not be able to find it in this world. All that we should do is to strengthen this unity, this sense of belonging to a whole, a whole that belongs to every one of us and not to any particular province or any particular race or any particular religion. You work together in great harmony here. I do not see any reason why, when you go back from this country, you should not work together with the same spirit of harmony and the same spirit of amity and friendship. That is what is necessary there. You must see to it that national coherence is kept up. You must have the sense that you belong to one whole but that whole also should not be regarded as a whole opposed to the others. Nationalism does not mean hatred of other nations; it means that you have the capacity to make your own contribution to the richness of the world. It is that idea you must harbour in your minds. You must have your nation and feel proud that you belong to it. That does not mean that you should hate other nations or not have common bonds binding you with other nations.

When you go back, feel a sense of belonging to one whole. Try to look upon the iniquities, injustices and disabilities from which large numbers of our people are suffering as your own; that you have a call to remedy them and overcome them, to do your best to lift up all those people and remove the disabilities that are shackling them and make them proud to belong to your country where everyone's well-being is the concern of the whole. If one part of your body is injured, if your finger is hurt, it is not the finger that feels the pain, but the whole body that feels the pain. If any part of our people is sub-

merged or oppressed or is put under disabilities, it is not only those people that suffer; we all suffer, the whole nation suffers and I want you to regard that as the greatest challenge you can face when you go back to our country.

You must work also for the unity of the world. We have come to a stage when our nationality is the human race and where the whole world is our home. We must therefore try to do our utmost to remove the disabilities from which other people are suffering. That is why I said racial bigotry, political exploitation and domination, colonialism—as you call it—and economic exploitation, these things must be removed as speedily as possible, if the causes which produce conflicts are to be removed. I do hope that in all your training you have a scientific outlook, not merely industrial skill. The way to look upon things is not with obscurantist eyes but with fresh eyes, with modern eyes, thinking that nothing is to be accepted by us unless we are able to see that it commends itself to the spirit of our reason. Your training here, I hope, has given you not merely scientific power and technical knowledge but also a scientific temper, a temper which looks at the facts dispassionately, disinterestedly and in a disciplined way. You are able to do it as worthy sons of our country and worthy citizens of this world.

THE INDIVIDUAL REVOLUTION

It is a very great pleasure to me to be in the city of Coventry. I think my visit to Great Britain would have been incomplete if I had not come here and seen for myself the few things which I have had the opportunity of seeing in the short time I have been here.

I have visited several cities and had mayoral receptions, but it is the first time I have visited a city which has a Lord Mayor who is a lady, and I hope there will be more cities like this, with Lady Mayors, although they are called Lord Mayor. That is the inconsistency of the British tradition—she is a lady, but is addressed as Lord Mayor.

When I saw Coventry Cathedral I felt that when your old Cathedral was broken down, shattered in the darkest hours of the war, that you were then near to salvation. Man has to be subjected to degradation and despair, to feel that he is deserted by the Divine and by everyone—the hour is always darkest before the dawn, and it is at that moment that your hearts must be greatly torn. But you felt that

Speech at the luncheon given by the Corporation of Coventry, 19 June, 1963

the sun still shone, the clouds would disperse and you would be able to build a Cathedral addressed to the needs of the modern age.

If this age has any particular problem to face it is the problem of the reconciliation of the peoples of the world. You have had conflict with the Germans, while today those very Germans have helped you to some extent by way of recompense for the evils inflicted upon this great city.

The trouble about human nature is it knows what the results of a particular line of conduct will be, knows them to be disastrous and yet it has not the power to take itself out of the rut, face problems with courage and compassion and avert the catastrophe which we know is inevitable today. Again, we know these nuclear armaments are going up and the nuclear tests are also going on, and it is possible that by a mistake the world may go up in fragments. These nuclear tests are depositing radioactive substances in our bodies which may have their effect on unborn generations. We all want peace but we have not the courage, we have not the strength, to retrace our steps and say that our problem after a war is going to be exactly the same as it is today. The Germans and British did not enter the last war intending that your great country should be totally devastated; people survived, and if there is now a chance of human survival we have to come together.

Why do you not do it today? Why is human nature so twisted in its character? What we must endeavour is to bring about a shake-up in our nature, a complete reorganization of the nature of man, so that man is able to feel that he belongs to one race.

We belong to one family; there are accidents of geography and history; we are in different administrative units, and each must take the opportunity to contribute out of its mind and spirit to world culture. Art and literature are potent factors, but politics are put higher. Politics are higher, yet they are the things which divide one from another.

We have been taught that the purpose of the universe, the purpose of environment, is the establishment of one family on earth and we have all the necessary facilities. We can feed the world, we can clothe the world and we can shelter the whole world and give opportunities to every individual for self-expression and self-development. All these resources are available to us if only we would divert a fraction of the resources we now spend on armament. If we would do this there would be no scarcity in the world and everyone would be happy to belong to this world. When God created this world he intended to provide things for human fulfilment and not for human destruction. What is needed is a transformation, a moral transformation, a kind of change, the re-making of human nature. We should

feel that though we belong to Britain we should not hate other nations. It follows that even as we love our country other people love their countries, and if we are able to understand that national feeling and the humanity and understanding which is the greatest longing of human nature, if we are able to give it a chance of outward expression, it will be a great day for humanity.

I was very pleased to notice the rehabilitation centre here and your Lord Mayor was good enough to tell me how bonds of friendship have been established between this city of Coventry and other cities of the world, both in the East and the West. These are all small steps, but steps which indicate the direction of history.

I believe that if these steps are strengthened we will begin to believe that we belong to one human race and the sorrows and sufferings of others must be regarded as our own sorrows—that is, if the spirit of compassion can take over and bring about the change. We can then settle down today; instead of going through catastrophe we can settle down to peaceful ways.

There are many signs which indicate that we are aware of impending catastrophe and that we are doing our best to avert it. There are co-operative movements in outer space research and in other ways we are trying to get together; in the organization of the United Nations we are trying to work together. We must strengthen the creative side of man and suppress, or obliterate possibly, the vanity, the jealous side of our nature, the suspicion and the fear. It is these jealousies and suspicions that are responsible for the nightmare world we live in today. Let each one make a revolution in himself and the world will be saved.

A FAMILY-TREE OF NATIONS

Mr Prime Minister and friends : I am moved by the very generous and warm words which you have just expressed, Mr Prime Minister, about the relations of our two countries, as grown over the last 200 years or so, and never were these relations more close and intimate than they happen to be today. We remember the days when over two millions of our troops came to these different parts of the world in the last World War, and we remember with gratitude the single sentence which you uttered in the House of Commons when you heard about our conflict with China—"Britain will do everything

Speech at the British Government Dinner, Lancaster House, London, 20 June, 1963

to assist India." That one statement gave so much cheer and heart to the people of India when they were in trouble and difficulties. After all, India itself is a multi-racial, multi-religious entity, and it was when you left us and gave us power, a going concern; the result is that today 450 million people spread over the vast continent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin are bound together under a single administration, with a great deal of political stability as also a sense of belonging to one country. That is in itself an achievement of which not we only, but you also can be proud; for you gave us an administrative machinery, an Army and your system of law, the democratic institutions of independent judiciary—polling booths, elections, etc. Three elections we had, in 1952, 1957 and 1962, and for the 1962 elections we had 220 million people on the rolls and 120 million actually voted and the voting took place smoothly without any disturbance, without any kind of bad blood or bitterness.

And we have sometimes to take harsh steps. This conflict with China put our democratic machinery to the test and it has survived. It has stood the test properly, and we are still working within the framework of democratic institutions. They have taken deep root in the country, and there is no doubt that every attempt to impose any kind of totalitarianism will be resisted by all the people of India. It has entered into our bloodstream, and whenever we are in trouble—including myself as the Chairman of the Upper House—we refer to May's *Parliamentary Practice* as our guide; and the Constitution itself says when there is nothing specific mentioned here the procedure of the British House of Commons is to be taken as the valid authority.

I am saying that India is a multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-cultural country, bound together in one whole. So is the British Commonwealth. You have different races, different cultures, different religions, spread over continents, and if we are not to overlook the lessons of the past and if in the future we have to resist all these threats, menacing threats of nuclear weapons, etc., this Commonwealth should be a prelude to a world commonwealth, where all the nations can work together as free, co-operating units in the world. In other words, a family of free nations. I say this because I know that even the so-called Communist systems are moving away from their fixed points of view. I remember a statement made by Mr Stalin to Mr Roosevelt, recorded in Mrs Roosevelt's book : "In 30 years' time," Stalin told Roosevelt, "we will move from where we are and you will move from where you are, and we will approximate to each other." That is what Mr Stalin told Mr Roosevelt in 1942-43 and they are moving. When Mr Khrushchev said "we have a great deal to learn from capitalists," when he made out that compromise is the essence of Soviet policy : when in spite of all the difficulties in Cuba,

Berlin, etc., no outbreak of hostilities has taken place, it shows the instinct for survival is stronger than even love of power. And I have seen several illustrations of the way in which the Soviet people are able to laugh at themselves. I talked with Mr Bertrand Russell this evening and I told him a story which Mr Khrushchev gave to a London audience. He said : "I went to a kolkhoz and asked a student, 'Who wrote *Anna Karenina*?'. The student shivered, didn't know what to say, and then said, 'I did not write it' ". He took hold of the teacher and asked him : "What kind of instruction do you give to your pupils?" Three days later the teacher came forward and said, "He now confesses that he wrote it." I want to tell you that when one can laugh at oneself in that way it shows there is hope and one is aware of the difficulties through which one's system is passing.

I saw also a reported interview between your Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, and Mr Gromyko, reported in the *Sunday Times*. The question was asked there again, "We want to know, Mr Gromyko, whether a noise which comes from your country is due to your nuclear explosion or Mr Molotov falling downstairs," and Gromyko's answer was : "Molotov has not any energy left in him, even to fall downstairs." The Radio Yerevan in Soviet Armenia had a quiz hour, and the question was asked, "What is capitalism?"—"Man exploiting man." "What is communism?"—"The opposite of it." Well, I am merely pointing out that the Soviet leaders are prepared to laugh at themselves and have asserted openly that the old theory of the inevitability of conflict between the two systems of capitalism and communism is outdated. It has no meaning, it has no force, it has no significance in this nuclear age, because such a thing will mean the survival of none, and therefore they are also moving, and perhaps what Mr Stalin told Mr Roosevelt is not altogether without point. So if once the Indian system of a multi-racial and multi-lingual and multi-religious and multi-cultural country bound together in one whole has given some kind of foretaste of British Commonwealth with its different races, etc., spread over different continents separated by long distances, may it not be our hope, and not merely a futile hope, but a probable hope, that other countries might get into this family of free nations and make the world a safe place for humanity to live in? That is my hope.

EAST AND WEST

LORD Mayor, Your Royal Highness, Distinguished Guests : I am very grateful to you, Sir, for the lavish words which you have used in talking about me and my country, which shows your generosity and affection for us, which I appreciate deeply. You referred to the concept of Commonwealth. Her Majesty the Queen, with great imagination and skill, is doing her utmost to convert that concept into a living reality, and we are all indebted to her for that. You spoke about our taking over parliamentary democracy, your system of law, including minor processes, procedures and practices in our Parliament from your thought and practice. My friend, the Speaker of our Lower House, the Lok Sabha, People's House, is here. He will testify to the fact that every day he has to turn to May's *Parliamentary Practice* twice or thrice; and we took up parliamentary democracy and we have adopted adult franchise. It is a symbol that we wish to treat all people as equals whatever be the race, sex, class or community and what we are now attempting to do is to make the life of these people somewhat ampler and richer than it used to be. In this task of modernisation, we have been receiving great assistance from this country and others also, this country pre-eminently. We are thankful to you for that. One thing occurred to me—that in one or twp matters we may have something to teach you. In our parliament we have about 52 lady members, but I am told that in this Commons, the Court of Aldermen, etc., there is not a single lady. Another thing that I may tell you is Mr Gandhi had a day of silence. He thought we talked too much, and it is better for us to have one day when we shut our mouths and don't waste words. I think, if there is less talk in the world, the world will be a better place. Someone spoke about the pursuit of knowledge and duty which you find is not peculiar to Great Britain, but is also found elsewhere. There is no question that whether you take the pursuit of truth or the pursuit of beauty or the pursuit of sanctity or holiness, these are not the monopolies of any countries or continents. You have sanctity and holiness in the West, as you have scientific achievement in the East. This is a question of distribution of emphasis, in different ages possibly. Once upon a time, in mathematics, grammar, logic, etc., the East had considerable contributions to make. Today, the West is making tremendous progress in science and technology, but that does not show any kind of inaptitude in the one of this or the other. The rational and spiritual sides constitute two essential aspects of human nature, and wherever you find human nature you will find the capacity to reason and the

Speech at a luncheon given by the Corporation of London, 21 June, 1963

capacity to contemplate. Both these things are to be found all over the world and we need not make distinctions on such things. We had the good fortune during our struggle to have for our guide a man of spirit, a man in whom you saw the hidden fire, the secret kingdom in which the Invisible dwells. He called himself a religious man, and as a religious man he felt that every kind of tyranny has to be opposed, tyranny of nation over nation, class over class, race over race. He worked for the equality of man, and the brotherhood of man. That was the great ideal for which Gandhi lived and died. He asked us to wage war against every kind of injustice, oppression, iniquity, a war in which no lives were lost, no homes were burnt, but the participants came out chastened in spirit. He was the man who told us that eternity is not something distant or in the future. It is there, dwelling in the present in every man, and whatever work we undertake must be undertaken with the perspective of the Eternal. That is the kind of advice which Gandhi gave us, and it is because we had such a man for our guide that the relations between our two countries have been smoothly broadened out into one of friendship and partnership in the pursuit of the great task of humanity. He made this statement : "I do not wish to live in this world if it is not united. I do not wish to live in this world if it is going to be a cockpit of strife among sovereign nations, with national hysteria, with racial bigotry, and organised jealousies." He said such a world is not fit for human beings to be in. He wanted the world to get united. That is what he said. When you look at the way in which we have progressed in our century, how we started it with complete confidence in the stability and security of the world. We thought everything was going to run smoothly, that we would enjoy the fruits of our labours and we would settle down. Came the First World War, which shattered our illusions and smashed our ideals. We found ourselves living in an artificial atmosphere. The war came and we won the war, but the peace was lost. What happened ? Unconditional surrender, we said. The enemy must be squeezed till "the pips squeaked", as they put it. There is the great saying which the Buddha gave us : "Victory breeds hatred; the conquered live in sorrow." He taught us this 2,500 years ago. Victory breeds hatred; the conquered live in sorrow and wait for an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. Nihilism, disillusionment, despair, overtook the world; and we had the Second World War. We won it. Today, we are still obsessed by the terrific anxieties of what we are going to do with these spectacular technological devices and nuclear weapons.

If we do not learn from the past, we have to live it over again. The two World Wars have not taught us to settle down in peace, to live together in peace and amity. What is it that prevents us from

adopting the same procedure before passing through a terrific catastrophe? Is it necessary for us every time to live through bloodshed, to make this world into a shambles, and then get together and say we want to live together as friends and no more as enemies? Here is a golden opportunity for the great leaders of religion, of politics, to express the will of the age, to express the purposes of Providence, the desire of the whole universe that we are intended to live together as friends and not look upon one another as enemies, disguised or in some other way. A union of hearts, a communion of minds, these are the things which we require today. We have all the opportunities. Science and technology have given us the resources by which we can feed the whole world. They have given us the resources by which ideas could be circulated all over the world. Radio communications, transport, all these things have made it possible for us to believe that the one nationality which we have is the human race and the world is our home. All the things that are necessary for establishing such a kind of functioning reality are available to us. All that is necessary is a shake-up of human nature, a regeneration of human nature. It has to come out of its rut. The *status quo* is not a way of life. It is something which we have to break through. There have been periods in the history of man, when we broke through the surface of such deadlocks and came to recognise one another as friends. It is such an opportunity that is now awaiting the human race. We live at a very crucial period in human history. It depends on the leaders, the political leaders, the religious leaders, all the leaders who have got the power to influence the minds and motives of men; it is for them today to call out boldly, squarely, without ambiguity or prevarication. The world is intended to be our home. Everyone is our kindred. It is a family that we have to establish on earth. That is the thing that is now open to us. The Commonwealth has brought together a number of races, a number of nations. They all work together as members who acknowledge certain ideals. I do not say acknowledgment of ideals means the implementation of those ideals; it does not follow. We have acknowledged so many things in this world. Yet there is this thing in man's nature. The Good that I would, I do not; the Evil that I would not, that I do. That has been told us. In our country we have a saying: "I know the right but I cannot adopt it. I know the wrong, I cannot abstain from it." It is there that we have duality in human nature; this human being is a paradox, a contradiction; at once the glory of Creation and the scandal of Creation. That is what he is. What you need is a regeneration of human nature. You must enlarge your vision, increase your understanding, grow in grace. That is what is necessary if we are to get off into a new type. It is my earnest hope and devout prayer



With Her Majesty the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh at an Exhibition of Canadian Art held at the Commonwealth Institute, London, 13 June, 1963

With Lady Macmillan, and the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire at Chatsworth Castle in Scotland, June 15, 1963





Addressing students at India House, London, 20 June, 1963

that all those who have got the authority, the power, the influence and the leadership will do something to bring to a halt the present piling up of armaments, the present testing of nuclear weapons, and that about these things which are disastrous to humanity, they will have the courage to say, "Stop this thing. This is unworthy of man." Lord Mayor, you hold an important position. This building has been here for 500 or 600 years and there has been a Lord Mayor for 515 years. Am I right?—something like that. The Lord Mayor has a very important position. I do hope that when he has a chance he will do his utmost to bring about this ideal of one family on earth. It was St Paul who told us, God is above all, through all and in all. If it is so, why should we not practise this in our everyday life? That is my hope and the Corporation will no doubt do its best.

THE EMERGING WORLD SOCIETY

FRIENDS: as your President has reminded you, this is not the first time that I am here, addressing this Council. The very existence of the Council shows that we are in a new age, an age of the emerging world society—one society, that is what is beckoning to us on the horizon. Prophets and seers have spoken to us of one family on earth.

mātā ca pārvatī devī
pitā devo maheśvaraḥ
bāndhavāḥ mānavāḥ sarve
svadeśo bhuvanatrayaṁ

We are children of the same parents and, therefore, we belong to one family.

The Buddhists proclaim that they wish to see a brotherhood established on earth. Christianity tells us of one family on earth. So does Islam—one God and one brotherhood on earth. These are ideals which have been put before us by our saints and seers for many long centuries, but the conditions for the implementation of these ideals have not been available till our own time. It is now that science and technology have brought about a physical unification of the world. Now we have races and cultures belonging to different areas mingling, one with another, and trying to understand one another. It is now, on account of the

Speech at the Council of Asian Relations and World Affairs, Kathmandu, 6 November, 1963

development of nuclear weapons, that we are provoked into an attitude of abhorrence of all war for the simple reason that a nuclear war will mean human suicide, the death of civilization.

So all the nuclear powers themselves are attempting to avoid it as best as possible, as much as possible. They are trying to bring about some kind of understanding among the great powers themselves.

Disarmament, total disarmament, is the only way by which we can achieve peace in this world. On this problem both the Soviet Union and the United States are agreed, and this proposition was assented to by the whole General Assembly. Through another route, so to say, we are brought to the same conclusion that, if the world is to settle down in peace, it must work for world unity, and that unity is to be achieved by means of love and brotherhood, not hate, violence and coercion. If we adopt such weapons we ourselves will be wiped out.

So what the prophets and seers spoke to us has come to us with a greater urgency, with a greater imperativeness today.

How are we to achieve this goal? Take Nepal. It had three separate entities—Bhaktapur, Patan and Kathmandu. What happened? Each of them had its own private army, its own sovereignty, its own separate existence, and a time arose when the three merged together and formed what you call a Nepali State. You have today one State of Nepal. What are the conditions necessary if this State is to be preserved? All injustices require to be removed. If men who belong to a State feel that their ambitions are frustrated, their lives are ruined, they will revolt, they will rebel, and fight with no other weapon than the readiness to die. Therefore, social injustices will have to be removed.

First, you must develop in them a sense of belonging to one whole—a sense that Nepal stands for certain ideals; and that community of ideals must permeate every citizen. Every citizen should feel that he belongs to the same whole, to the State. These are essential conditions for the survival of any State. Private armies are to be disbanded, and instruments of coercion placed in the hands of one central authority.

Secondly, every kind of injustice must be removed and the people must have a sense of contentment.

Thirdly, they must all feel that they belong to one whole, that they have common purposes, whatever their caste may be, whatever their community may be, whatever may be the original State from which they came. The entire State stands for certain ideals which appeal to the sense of integrity, which appeal to the conscience of all Nepalese citizens.

The way in which nation-states have been formed gives us a clue to how we can bring about a world order. There should be a disbandment of private armies. It may look to you to be a distant goal,

but I have no doubt that it represents the will of the age, the mind of the events and the purpose of Providence. There is no question that we are moving towards a unified world, when there will be one central authority to which the instruments of coercion will be surrendered, and a fraction of the sovereignty of independent nation-states will have to be given up for the sake of the security of the whole world.

The second condition that I spoke about was the condition that there should be no people in the world feeling frustrated, feeling that their ambitions are thwarted, that they are not having a full, rich life to which they are entitled. In the world today we have many places where race discrimination is practised, many places where religious intolerance is to be found, many places where there is colonial rule. When people suffer from these things, they will not bother about a world order, a world authority. If you want to give them a sense that they are human beings belonging to one greater order, it is essential for you to remove these injustices from which people in many areas are suffering. That is essential. And I hope that we are all trying to do our little best to remove these injustices and make the ordinary people feel that they will have some kind of change in the new society.

Thirdly, I told you that there must be a sense of belonging to one whole. Ideas move the world. The right ideas, the right kind of indoctrination, will mean the betterment of the world. If you know only mass psychology and if you have wrong ideas of it in your mind you will produce mass hysteria and people will rebel against one another and resort to violence. That is the sort of thing that is likely to happen. So this is what the nations which have come together, the different cultures which are facing one another today and meeting one another, must try to understand.

I may tell you that hostility is not the natural attitude of human beings. If the attitude is one of tolerance, it will give rise to mutual respect. Other cultures, other civilizations will also be tolerated and respected by us. The world will have for its heritage not merelv what has come to us from this part or that part of it, but what has come to us from all parts of the world.

The world has become one today. There was a time when the Christian world was fed on Jewish, Greek and Roman thought, because the other types of thought were not familiar to it. On our side we were fed on Hindu, Buddhist and Confucian thought. We were not familiar with what was happening elsewhere. But today the situation is altogether different. We all know what is being said or thought about in other places. Radio, transport, easy communications—these things are enabling us to understand the essential points, the essential aspects, of one another's culture. If we understand that way, we all feel that we belong to one whole. That idea, that sense of belonging to one human

community, will have to be instilled into the minds of our young people before they are wrongly indoctrinated.

I have known in my own life, in my own experience, people who were hating one another on account of their religious views. All that has changed today. You will find that other religions are studied with sympathy and respect by those who do not adhere to them. They try to find out whatever is of value in them. The classics of the whole world form the classics of every human being. We are the inheritors of a great world heritage.

What is essential today, if we wish to bring about a human community, a world community, is to surrender a part of our sovereignty to a central authority, to do our utmost to remove the injustices which prevail in the name of colonial subjection, in the name of racial segregation, in the name of economic exploitation, in the name of even religious intolerance. These are the things which must be removed. It is easy to win peace, but we should also win the conditions which make for peace. These conditions are that we should not adhere to the kind of heritage which has come down to us. We must reject the past for the sake of the future. The hope of the world lies in our trying to exceed, transcend, outmoded nationalist attitudes. They have their place so far as cultural expression is concerned. But they have no place if you think that every nation is the supreme sovereign of its own way of life and that it can fight others in the name of its particular way of life. That attitude has to be given up.

You see in the world today how many changes are taking place. We never thought that France and Germany, which fought three wars, would get together and help each other. We never thought that the Soviet Union and the United States would try to co-operate in the exploration of space, in the exploration of the moon. You find everywhere, whichever part of the world you visit, members of other nations working there. The interdependence of nations is the supreme fact today. I have come to Kathmandu; when I go even to your small villages, I find the American, the English, the French and the Belgian, all of them working together for the sake of improving the general conditions of the people. This is a sign of the growing interdependence of the world.

This is an age of interdependence, and our way is clear. We must surrender a part of our sovereignty, work together for the elimination of every kind of injustice wherever we find it. Injustice must hurt you as much as it hurts the people who suffer from it. If you have a sensitive conscience, you will feel that those people who are hungry, who are poor, whose lives are inhibited, are a challenge to us all; and so long as they exist it will not be possible for us to develop a real human community.

We must have this sense of world community that we must give our young people, our students, in the plastic years of their lives. You must make them feel that they all belong to one human family. There is no such thing as this nation or that nation superseding the claims of the human community. If the two things come into conflict, you must sacrifice your own sovereignty.

Gandhiji said : "I do not want to see a fallen and prostrate India. I want a free and enlightened India so that she may be of help to the other countries of the world, and she may, if need arises, die that other people may live."

FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

SERVICE IS PRAYER

DR Rajendra Prasad, Mr Vice-President, Mr Prime Minister, Members of Parliament, Your Excellencies and friends : I am deeply moved by the great honour my people have done me by electing me to this high office. I have no illusions in the matter. It is the people's goodwill and affection for me more than any work of mine that has placed me in this important position. I am familiar somewhat with the magnitude and difficulties of the functions I have to discharge from my close association, these ten years, with Dr Rajendra Prasad. May I say, in all humility, that I shall endeavour to do my best to deserve in some modest measure the great faith of my people, and devote the few years left to me to their service. Service is prayer, *tad eva īśvarapūjānaṁ*. We worship the Creator by working for a new creation, a new society.

The Supreme is Truth according to all religions. Men of all creeds and no creed are devotees of Truth, the great Comforter, the great Awakener. When other things fail, Truth does not : *tat satyaṁ, sa ātmā, tat tvaṁ asi* as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* has it.

A nation is not a juxtaposition of individuals. It is a society based on a communion of minds, a union of hearts. The great everlasting things that matter for nations, especially our own nation, are the peaks of wisdom, love and sacrifice which have come down to us from over forty centuries. As long as we carry in our hearts the image of these great peaks whose foundations are not shaken, though the earth may rock and sway, our future is safe. India for centuries has been a mother to all those who made this country their home and helped them by providing intellectual nutriment and spiritual solace even as a mother lets each one of her children find in her the comfort each individually needs. The children are not alike; they are different. Only the different can unite on the basis of the unity of all life, the reality residing in each individual and the joy of fulfilment when truth is attained. We should preserve this great spirit of hospitality to varied beliefs, freedom from the tyranny of dogmas, which has been the secret of our strength.

In our national concerns we adopt democracy not merely as a political arrangement but as a moral temper. It is of a piece with our great tradition and habits of behaviour. We realize that freedom has no meaning save in the context of equality, and there can be no equality without economic justice. These ideals of freedom, equality and justice are not possessions to be defended but goals to be reached. We have often lapsed from them and suffered in consequence. In a

Address on assumption of office as President of India, New Delhi, 13 May. 1962

mood of humility and national repentance, we should strive to correct our past mistakes, remove the indignities which we have imposed on our fellow men and march forward. We cannot move into the future by walking backwards.

Our world is very different today and we have to adjust ourselves to the technical revolution which is in progress. It poses for us the greatest problem of our age, the matter of the survival of the human race. At the same time it provides a great opportunity for all of us to take a moral step forward and enter into a new phase of human history. It is a question not so much of freedom or slavery as of life or death of our civilization. We love life and should believe in the holiness of life. This faith will give us the strength to overcome mental obstacles and moral inertia. We should not put national security above world safety. The absolute sovereign nation-State is outmoded. Behind all national interests there is an irreducible minimum of values and aspirations which are the common possessions of mankind. All human beings wish to live and, therefore, need the things which are essential for life. They wish to live well. They need certain ideals, philosophical convictions, ethical postulates and political aspirations. All men can share the necessaries for living and the ideals which make living worth-while. The miracles of science and technology enable us to provide all mankind with the possibility of a good and free life. All men can be freed from political subjection, economic slavery and social inequalities. On the basis of the community of ideals and aspirations we can build a world society which will protect national values and preserve world security. If moral imperatives do not shape the pattern of our behaviour, national and international, there will be fear for the future.

sarvabhūtastham ātmānāṁ sarvabhūtānicātmani
saṁpaśyan ātmayājī vai svarājyam adhigacchati

With your leave, may I pay my affectionate and respectful tribute to Dr Rajendra Prasad, an outstanding national figure whose services to the country both during the period of the struggle for independence and after its achievement are well known. As Chairman of the Constituent Assembly he presided over the enactment of the constitutional structure of our democracy, and in the first Indian Government after Independence, he held the important portfolio of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. As the first elected Head of the State, he symbolized the hopes and aspirations of our people and illustrated what a President should be according to our Constitution.

It rarely falls to the lot of imperfect men to retire from high offices with the reputation and affection which placed them there. When

it happens we should be thankful to Providence. When Dr Rajendra Prasad took seriously ill last July, the whole country fell into a state of gloom, and when he recovered from that illness there was general rejoicing. The hope is widespread and heartfelt that this simple and typical Indian may live long to inspire us all.

As a small token of our esteem and regard for him, our appreciation of his memorable services to the country and the example he has set us, it is my privilege to request him to accept the high distinction of Bharat Ratna. In the normal course he would have been the first to get it but he would not accept it earlier as he himself was the fountain of all honour. Today he has graciously agreed to honour the order by accepting it and will be the head of the list of recipients. I am delighted that my first act after assuming office is this pleasant one of presenting him with the distinction of Bharat Ratna.

THE RULE OF LAW

I AM delighted to be here to inaugurate the Centenary celebrations of this great High Court. When I stand before this distinguished gathering of lawyers to speak on the Centenary of the Madras High Court, I am reminded of an incident in St. Augustine's life. The great theologian, facing an audience, began with the words, "Happy are they that listen, for they are humble, but he who speaks should see to it that he is not proud. God knows with what trembling I stand before you." That is my present mental condition. You will forgive me if I am not able to say anything fresh or new.

The Chief Justice has just given us a brief but interesting account of the origin and growth of this institution : its past glory, its great traditions and its present position. The eminent judges and great lawyers of this High Court made it illustrious in the legal world of the country. It is our hope that these great names will inspire all those connected with the institution today to strive to live up to the standards so well established.

The test of a civilized government is the efficiency of its judicial system. This High Court has helped to give the people of our country impartial administration of justice. Many of the victories for justice and freedom are won in law courts. As a student of the Madras Christian College, which was then located opposite the High Court buildings, I along with others went to the High Court when we heard about the sudden collapse in the High Court of Shri V. Bhashyam Ayyangar.

Speech inaugurating the Centenary celebrations of Madras High Court, Madras, 6 August, 1962

When he was Advocate-General his advice was sought on the question of instituting criminal proceedings against Shri Bepin Chandra Pal for his speeches at Madras. It is reported that Bhashyam Ayyangar said, "The speeches are inflammatory but they are not seditious." Within the limits of law, he tried to help the development of national consciousness. His friend and colleague, Shri S. Subramanya Iyer, wrote a letter to President Wilson pleading strongly for India's freedom.

We were greatly excited by Shri V. Krishnaswami Iyer's passionate sponsoring of the cause of the people who suffered in large numbers by the failure of the Arbuthnot Bank. When a British jury found Mr Arbuthnot guilty and the presiding judge accepted the verdict and sentenced him to a term of imprisonment, we felt that the High Court was a temple of justice where justice was meted out, irrespective of race, colour or caste. Shri C. Sankaran Nair's interest were not limited to law. As a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council he supported progressive causes. When at Madras, he used to spend an hour or two at the Cosmopolitan Club reading foreign newspapers and magazines. Shri Abdur Rahim as a member of the Public Service Commission argued for the removal of racial discrimination in the services. Satyamurthi, a terror in the "Question Hour" in the Central Assembly, belonged to this Bar. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer was a member of the Constituent Assembly and was also for some time a member of the Rajya Sabha where he was a great influence. Members of this High Court—Bench and Bar—have made very valuable contributions to public life, education and social reform.

The Preamble to our Constitution lays down that we secure to all our citizens "Justice, social, economic and political." Justice is the cement of society. It is that which holds society together. The word dharma is derived from the root *dhṛ*, to uphold, to support, to nourish. Justice is our only security against private vengeance and armed rebellion. Law is its instrument, and it holds the community together.

Law should be based on the ancient principle of treating all men alike, *ātmaupamyena sarvatra*. Do unto others what you would wish them to do unto you, *ātmanaḥ pratikūlāni pareṣaṁ na samācaret*. This principle is found in Kant's Categorical Imperative : "Always act in such a manner that the principle of your action can become a general law." He who steals is contradicting himself. He cannot wish that the principle of action, stealing other people's property, should become a general law. Such a law will immediately deprive him of what he acquired by theft. We should treat a human being as an end, not a mere means. Each individual is both sovereign and subject. Sovereignty implies subjection to law. No one is above law, not even the sovereign. The aim of all law is the protection of the liberty of the individual so as to afford scope for self-expression and self-development.

This High Court arose out of a number of previous judicial courts : the Court of the Recorder, the Mayor's Court, the Choultry Court, etc. On 16 December, 1800, Letters Patent were issued for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature in Madras. The events of 1857 led to the assumption of direct rule by the Government in England. According to the Act of 1861, High Courts were established at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and this High Court started work on 15 August, 1862, and it took over the powers and jurisdiction of the abolished courts. These buildings were opened on 12 July, 1892, by Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras at the time, and the massive Silver Key was handed over to Sir Arthur Collins, the Chief Justice, with the words : "This building is handed over to you in the full confidence that the administration of justice will be carried on with the ability and integrity that have always marked the Madras High Court." Sir Arthur Collins said in reply : "I fervently hope that long after you and I, Your Excellency, have passed away to that undiscovered country, of which we know so little, there may also continue to be found men of ability and courage, who will administer the law in these courts without distinction of class, creed or race."

On 23 May, 1895, the statue of Shri T. Muthuswami Iyer, the first Indian Judge of the High Court, was set up reminding us all of the learning, piety, simple life and dedication to the cause of justice which characterized him. Our first permanent Indian Chief Justice was the learned, able, versatile Shri P. V. Rajamannar, whom we are happy to see here. The Madras High Court has established the prestige of the Indian lawyer for learning, fearless courage and powerful and persuasive advocacy.

In 1947, when British rule came to an end, the Constituent Assembly decided not only to continue the High Courts with all the powers they had till then (Article 225), but invested them with new powers of considerable importance (Article 226). The High Courts have now the power to issue writs against the highest authorities of the Union and the States in order to protect the citizens against any violation of their Fundamental Rights and against any wrong caused by an arbitrary and illegal exercise of official powers. This power of the High Courts is often invoked and a large volume of litigation is the result. This power, I dare say, is used with great caution and only in cases where the basic principles of the Constitution are violated.

On the whole, the administration of justice has been fair, though for a short period the Supreme Court of Bengal came in for severe criticism. Macaulay in his essay *Warren Hastings* observed that the rule of the Supreme Court was a reign of terror, "of terror heightened by mystery; for even that which was endured was less terrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was to be expected from this strange tribunal. No Maratha invasion had ever spread through the province

such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former aggressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court."[1] The main causes of the miscarriage of justice by the Supreme Court nearly two centuries ago were the Court's entering into conflicts with the executive government and taking sides in the divisions and factions that prevailed then in the executive government. When judges play politics, justice suffers.

In a democratic society, the three essential parts of the Constitution are the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The initiative for legislation is generally taken by the executive. The legislature discusses, deliberates and frames laws. The laws should be clear, precise and intelligible. The legislatures attempt to maintain the laws up to date. It is for the judiciary to clarify laws, to interpret them. Though the courts do not make laws but only declare what they are, their interpretation is binding on all the States and the citizens. The interpretations should have in view the growing sense of public justice, the equality of man and the inborn dignity of the human being. They should see to it that government is carried on under the rule of law. It is for the judiciary to maintain what is called the supremacy of law. The Constitution lays down express provisions for the judicial review of legislation in regard to its conformity with the Constitution.

Success in the administration of justice depends on the co-operation of the three chief authorities of the nation. The executive appoints the judges and by the mode of selection determines the quality and efficiency of the Courts. The range and depth of knowledge expected of judges and lawyers have become far greater on account of the increase and complexity of case law and legislation as well as of the new developments in constitutional law and international law. If the legal profession is to be a national asset and not a vested interest, high standards have to be maintained.

A great aid to the administration of justice is a sound system of legal education and legal research. The late Professor R. W. Lee of Oxford, speaking about legal education, mentioned three ways, which cannot be rigidly distinguished, in which legal education is interpreted : you may train a man in the practice of law; you may train him in the law which he is to practise; you may train him in law.

The first is impracticable; the second inadequate without a strong grounding in the third; the third involves the comparative study of legal systems, ancient and modern, and legal science generally. With a sound system of legal education, legal research becomes possible.

Members of this High Court have made contributions to legal research. The most notable is perhaps the work *Hindu Law and Usage*

[1]*The Works of Lord Macaulay*, (1904), Vol. VI, pp. 587-588

by J. D. Mayne who came to Madras first as Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College, Madras. This book in its different editions has been a great guide to students of Hindu Law for nearly a century.

Apart from the services rendered to the administration of justice and legal learning, several members of this High Court were associated prominently with the struggle for freedom. Their contributions to higher education and social progress have been outstanding.

We had recently the Anti-nuclear Arms Convention at New Delhi. The tests of nuclear weapons by the great powers have troubled the conscience of the world. We seem to be getting hardened to the spectacle of inhumanity. It is not a matter of politics or social philosophy but a question of life or death for the human race. We should resist the present trends in international politics if we are to survive. A unilateral stopping of nuclear weapon tests may prepare the ground for complete disarmament, which is essential for the peace and security of the world.

The past history of human evolution gives us hope that by intelligent planning and deliberate effort we may slowly replace the resort to force for settling disputes by methods of persuasion and the observance of the rule of law. Within nations we do not ordinarily resort to force for settling our claims. There are individuals who are tempted to take the law into their own hands. To deter them from the use of lawless violence, we use the police force. Within a nation we have the rule of law, the framework of justice and the police force.

If conditions which prevail within a nation-State are to be applied on a world scale, nation-States should be prepared to sacrifice a little of their national sovereignty and be willing to accept peaceful methods of settling disputes. Even as there are antisocial individuals within a State, there may be aggressive nations who wish to dominate others by force. Just as we disbanded private armies and vested all force in the State, so we should work for the liquidation of national armies and the vesting of coercive power in a world authority.

The very year in which atomic power made its entry into military history, the United Nations also made its entry. In a world of tensions, political, economic and racial, the United Nations Charter sets forth the universal principles of the dignity of persons, the equality of races and the co-operation of nations for justice and peace on earth.

The UN is the first step in the direction of creating a world order. It does not have the power to enforce the rule of law, though it has used military force on occasions. We should strive to get the weapons out of the hands of nations and put them in international keeping. Except for local police forces the world's armies should be in the hands of an international authority.

This movement from the anarchy of the jungle to the rule of law is a step in the onward march to the reign of love. The ideal State is

one where we have the reign of love and all men are prophets, where there will be no need for law or police or courts. The saints point out what mankind is meant to be.

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* the king says, "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without a sacrificial fire, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress."

na me steno janapade na kadaryo na madyapaḥ
nānāhitāgnir nāvidvān, na svairī svairiṇī kutaḥ

Narada says : "When men were habitually devoted to dharma and were always truthful, there was no *vyavahāra* (legal disputes), no hatred, no selfishness."

There is always tension between the desire for the perfect and the need to adopt imperfect means. We have to mediate between the ideal of love and the actual conditions. Fidelity to the ideal and sensitivity to the actual should govern our actions. The interaction of the two secures the growth of society. We cannot all of a sudden jump to the highest. Using force under law for the preservation of peace is essential in the contemporary situation. Force is not the arbiter. It is used in the interests of law, of justice. It is the servant of the law. There is a difference between *daṇḍa* and *hiṁsā*. The former is legal restraint of the guilty, the latter is wanton infliction of pain on the innocent person.

We must build up an international society against which forces of darkness, hate and misunderstanding will not prevail.

The law of the nations should express the will of the people. The perfect rule of international law is a distant objective. There are no courts which are endowed with extensive jurisdiction over all nations and issues. Nevertheless, through the use of concepts, institutions and methods of law, specific sources of tension can be removed, the breadth and depth of order among nations can be increased.

The members of the Bench and Bar of Madras High Court have been noted for their integrity, independence and impartiality, qualities which we require today when the common citizen looks to our High Courts and the Supreme Court for the protection of his Fundamental Rights and liberties. They have set an example of interracial and inter-communal unity. It is my earnest desire that those associated with this High Court will, in their conduct, follow the example of the greatest of its leaders in the last century. God bless you all !



The President at the swearing-in ceremony, 13 May, 1962



Speaking at a luncheon given in his honour by the press correspondents of Washington, 6 June, 1963

Speaking at the University of Edinburgh after receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws, 14 June, 1963



A NOBLER FREEDOM

FRIENDS: on the eve of the fifteenth anniversary of our Independence Day, it is my privilege to speak to our people at home and abroad about our achievements and aspirations as well as the tasks ahead of us.

All these years, after we stepped into the world of free nations, we have been trying to win for our people a deeper and nobler freedom than what mere political liberty connotes. Gandhiji once said, "I have travelled from one end of the country to the other and I have seen the miserable specimens of humanity with their lustreless eyes. They are India. In these humble cottages, in the midst of these dungheaps are to be found humble folk in whom you find the concentrated essence of wisdom." Here Gandhiji sums up the material poverty and the spiritual wealth of our people. We should strive to remove the former and strengthen the latter.

The plight of the poor is the symbol of our condition. They suffer from malnutrition and so are easily susceptible to disease. The indigent and the destitute live under subhuman conditions. Food, clothing and shelter are the primary needs of our people. By planned economic development we are striving to increase agricultural production so as to meet the needs of our people as well as the requirements of industry and export, encouraging industries that would give clothing to our population at reasonable prices and implementing housing programmes which would provide accommodation for low-income groups.

The implementation of the Plans has been somewhat inadequate as there has been little emotional involvement on the part of the staff, managerial and subordinate, in the great national work that they are engaged in. It is essential that our public servants, whether employed in Government service or public and private industries, should have a sense of pride in their work. They should feel that they are engaged in the bloodless revolution of raising the living standards of 440 millions of people and strengthening their moral fibre. All those who work with the people should be humble, kind and considerate. Economic development and clean administration will help to strengthen national solidarity.

We are mechanizing agriculture and industrializing our country. We have now to develop a new ethos, a new spiritual outlook, if freedom and democracy are to be realized in our lives. The wisdom to which Gandhiji refers is ever-vigilant, ever-creative. Though it does not conform to the world, it does not keep away from it. It helps to reconcile and redeem society.

Wisdom requires us to be compassionate, to be forgiving, to forbear

Message to the nation for Independence Day, 14 August, 1962

judgment. Unfortunately, we are more critical of others than of ourselves. We preach from platforms tolerance and understanding but do not manifest these qualities in our daily lives, in our dealings with others. If we cling to the caste hierarchy, if we do not treat human beings with respect and dignity, if we show ourselves to be lacking in sensibility and human feeling, if we believe that we are pleasing God thereby, we do offence to God and to ourselves.

Nirdoṣaṁ hi samaṁ brahma : the Supreme is faultless and equal to all. Whatever prevents us from knowing the truth and practising love to all, even those who do not belong to our sect, group or denomination, cannot be religious. We should strive to keep alive in our hearts that little spark of celestial fire, love of truth and goodness.

Faith in democracy is the binding force of our society. Democracy will make for modernity. We cannot live in the twentieth century when we are handicapped by the institutions and machinery of an earlier age. This is the source of our national incoherence. If we adhere to the principles and practices of democracy, we will not compromise with disruptive, reactionary and antisocial forces. The recent elections showed that the system of caste and feeling for groups—linguistic and communal—have not loosened their hold on the masses of our people. These have impaired the health of our democratic structure. Even in panchayati raj we should be careful that the spirit of caste panchayat does not vitiate its working.

Ethical sublimity is the mark of the magnanimous man; ethical depravity is the mark of the low man. All other distinctions are irrelevant, *na kulaṁ kulamityāhurācāraṁ kulamucyate.*

If we are to be truly democratic in our public life and administration, it is essential that no one should be prejudiced or favoured by reason of sex or parentage, race or language, caste or sub-caste, religious faith or political persuasion. While facilities should be provided for all people to train themselves for self-expression and development, no encouragement should be given to the perpetuation of divisions and sub-divisions. Economic backwardness, and not the caste or the community to which one happens to belong, should be the test for special concessions. The State should provide opportunities of education for the backward people, to whatever religion or community they may belong. In a competitive world, if we are to survive, our ablest men should be entrusted with high responsibility. While appointments to services should be made on grounds of efficiency, the handicaps from which the backward classes suffer should be removed as speedily as possible.

When we look at the world situation, we find that collective passions make us run the risk of universal destruction. While in theory we are convinced of the oneness of the world and the indivisibility of peace, in

practice we adopt a narrow nationalist outlook. The dichotomy in our thought and life requires to be removed. Circumstances are compelling us to act on the assumption of One World. It will be our endeavour in the international world to break down barriers, relax tension and foster world unity.

China and Pakistan are our close neighbours, and it is our earnest desire to maintain the most friendly relations with them. Whatever disputes we have with them, we will strive our utmost to have these settled in a peaceful way. Peaceful negotiations, however, do not mean capitulation or the surrender of our legitimate rights.

We have faith in the future of man. His nature has changed so often and will change again. His life is not finished; his present stage is not the final one. Man, as he is, is a sketch of what man has to be. He is always becoming, becoming something different and often better. He has now to take a great leap forward in consciousness. Individuals, nations and civilizations are a part of this tremendous process of becoming, becoming sensitized, becoming refined, becoming noble.

Today, let us rededicate ourselves to the task of evolving a cohesive, purposeful pattern of society on the principles of unity, freedom, justice and co-operation.

GREEK THOUGHT

MAY I first convey to you our most cordial welcome on behalf of the Government and the people of this country among whom I include myself. I hope that you and members of your party will have a very useful, interesting and enjoyable time here.

You have been working to build up a welfare state in your country based on the great ideals of democracy, freedom and justice, ideals which were first formulated in the West by your spiritual ancestors, the ancient Greeks. Bishop Westcott remarked many decades ago that Greece and India were the most metaphysical nations in the world. It may be true or not, but it is true so far as Greece is concerned. A metaphysician, very eminent in our own time, passed away a few years ago—Whitehead; he observed that the safest generalization which one could make on the vast European philosophical tradition was to say that it consisted of a series of foot-notes to Plato. Plato remains the guide for all the philosophers of the West. In some way the Vedas, including the Upaniṣads and the dialogues of the Buddha, have

Speech at banquet in honour of the King and Queen of Greece, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 2 February, 1963

supplied spiritual nutriment to millions in the East. There is an emphasis, therefore, on metaphysics, on finding out whether this universe has a pattern or not. Man is not merely a tool-maker, he is also a pattern-maker. When he is faced by the things of the world, he wishes to know whether there is any meaning, any principle, underlying this whole cosmic panorama.

The spirit of science which has resulted in such great advances, from steam to electricity, from electricity to atomic power, from atomic power to space travel, has brought the world together and made it a world in which nations and cultures are brought into close intimacy. That was started in the West by the Greek thinkers. I recall that an Egyptian priest told the Greeks, "You Greeks are always young." There are two types of people in the world : those with ancient traditions looking back to the past with nostalgia, lamenting the loss of a golden age; there are also young people with open minds, with virgin outlook, untrammelled by any kind of pride or prejudice, not oppressed by the weight of antiquity, saying that they look to the future and wish to have a brave new world. The Greeks were the people who said that they were always young, that the universe was rational and could be understood and that we could find out what the truth is. That spirit of science is something which the Greek thinkers contributed to the world of thought. You cannot get a better definition of democracy than what Thucydides gave. Our Constitution is not meant for the few but it is meant for the many. Here we do not recognize birth or parentage but the contribution made to the service of the community. That will be the test and we shall try to protect the oppressed and provide equal justice for all.

We do not claim infallibility for ourselves, but we do not admit infallibility in others. You have the fundamental principles of democracy which we are still not able to implement completely in any part of the world. In our own country we have proclaimed these great ideals but we have not been able to translate them into practice completely. We are still far from that goal of a truly democratic society. The spirit of reason and the spirit of democracy are there. But they are not enough. You find in the world several things, health, beauty and form. They are neutral; they may be used for good purposes or may be turned to evil purposes. Something else, a sense of values, is necessary if society is to be regarded as satisfactory. This sense of values, when we are faced by depression, confusion, fear, anxiety—and these things occur—enables us to turn to the inward sanctuary. That sanctuary is not a place in space, but a state of mind; it is a spiritual consciousness. When we turn to it, we will be able to get some calmness, some composure, some contentment. Without that guiding principle of a divine presence, of a spiritual purpose, it will not be

possible for us to make science, democracy and other things function well.

These three great things—the spirit of reason, the spirit of democracy and emphasis on values—are the things that had been adumbrated by the ancient Greek thinkers and we are trying our best to adopt all of them and put them into practice.

Your Majesty, you have done so much in your country for permeating these ideals through your society. You are trying to develop your industries. We are also doing so. We have trade relations with you; we have cultural relations with you; and I have no doubt that by your visit these relations will be greatly promoted and considerably strengthened.

I am glad that Your Majesty has celebrated the Silver Jubilee of your wedding on the 9th of January and that you are going to celebrate the centenary of the connection of your family with Greece this year in March. We wish you both a very, very happy future.

DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

I AM happy to be here this noon and listen to the very flattering words which Mr Dean Rusk has just uttered. I was greatly impressed by his statement that our two countries are engaged in a partnership, a partnership of the development of democratic ideals in this world. Columbus came to America trying to find his way to India and now from America I should get back to India to complete history.

Your great President, Washington, gave you two precious gifts : freedom and democracy. He won freedom as head of the Revolutionary Army; he gave you democracy as the first President responsible for the Constitution, a Constitution which gives us the rights of liberty, equality, fellowship, justice, etc. Your Constitution doesn't say Americans are all born equal, it says all men are born equal, all of them have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is a charter of human liberty intended for the whole of mankind and not merely for your own country. Such a universal declaration of rights was given by your Constitution. The echoes of that Constitution are to be found in our Constitution. Mahatma Gandhi gave us both these things; he gave us political freedom—though he worked it out in his own way—and in this struggle for freedom he also laid stress on economic security, political liberty and social equality. These

Reply to Mr Dean Rusk's address at a State Department luncheon, Washington, 3 June, 1963

are the principles which we have incorporated in our Constitution and we have been trying our best to implement these ideals during the last 15 years or so after the transfer of power. We have succeeded to a large extent by industrializing ourselves and modernizing ourselves. I believe there is an element of moral greatness in industrial progress for it enables the ordinary people to live according to higher standards. and in the assertion of social equality there is great beauty and strength.

Today when I met a lady member of your House of Representatives I asked her : "How many lady members do you have in your Congress ?" She said : "Eleven—in the Senate, two." Eleven plus two—thirteen.

We have in the two Houses in our country 52 ladies, four times your number. And we are not satisfied with that representation. We want to see it increased, go up, that's what we are all anxious about. The Minister in Waiting on me here is my friend, Lakshmi Menon.

Now all I wish to say is we have been trying to implement the ideals of equality. We have a long way to go, but yet the steps we have taken are not inconsiderable. We are aware of the little done and the vast undone. Democracy has taken roots in our country. The general elections demonstrate it. We had in the last election over 220 million voters, of whom 120 million actually voted, and we had 2,38,000 polling booths. These elections are conducted in a quiet, peaceful way. If there are exceptions, they are exceptions that prove the rule. Even the Chinese crisis has demonstrated the strength of democracy. We were able to impose on ourselves measures of great self-denial, a very austere budget, which ordinarily the country would not have been able to bear, was assented to by open discussion and by parliamentary consent. It shows the way in which we are developing democracy. We'd rather perish than submit to any kind of totalitarianism or tyranny imposed on us. It is to democracy and democratic ideals that we are pledged. And I hope that people in this country realize that fundamental fact. And if they realize it, I have no doubt that the partnership will be strengthened between our two countries.

THE NEED TODAY

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here in this ancient city and receive the addresses of welcome.

The history of your city epitomizes in one way the growth of our culture. Tamil literature grew up through the three *Sangams* which were

Speech at a citizens' meeting, Madurai, 27 September, 1963

held in this city. The Buddhists, Jains and others also came here, and you had after some time the Vijayanagar and the Nayak dynasties here. Andhra and Tamilnadu met here, and all these were forged into a single unity. We are proud of the achievements of this great city which is to be an example to other parts of our country.

We in this country are today passing through a crisis, a crisis due to the activities of our neighbour who is keeping us on a perpetual vigil. We took his friendship for granted. We thought that he would not act towards us in any treacherous way; but when it happened, the people of the whole country rose up as one man, irrespective of political persuasions and religious and racial affiliations.

The only answer to any kind of invader is the cohesion and strength of our people. All that we have to do is to develop the solidarity of our country and act as one man even though we number 440 millions. It is very essential to infuse that spirit of oneness, of belonging to one country, and of belonging to one culture and tradition.

Our Constitution-makers speak of the ideals which we have set before ourselves. There must be social and economic justice. There must be freedom for every individual, freedom to express one's views and freedom of association. We wish to give to every religion freedom to propagate and profess its doctrines so long as these do not conflict with the moral conscience of the community, or the cohesion and solidarity of the people. Social justice is the most important thing. Here we are worshippers of Minakshi. Let us see how our country treated our women over the centuries. It is only now that we are giving them complete equality with men. This has been laid down in the Constitution. Our everyday life must demonstrate how we treat our women. Similarly, there are submerged people in our country, who were called Harijans, men of God, by Mahatma Gandhi. These submerged people are now coming into their own; they are asserting their rights. Here also theory is one thing, and practice another: we have to bring together the two.

When we talk about social justice, we mean that every human individual, man or woman, high caste or low caste, of whatever religious persuasion, is treated before the law as equals, with the same political rights, with liberty to rise to the highest offices open to any individual in his or her life. This social equality is the primary basis of national cohesion. Every one of us should see to it that in his actual life, in his daily practice, he observes all these principles. There is no use merely preaching them and not practising them.

Economically, our trouble is the colossal poverty which is not to be found in any other part of the world. We have large numbers of people who do not have even a single square meal a day. Discussions were held the other day in Parliament pointing out that the *per capita*

income of an individual per day in India is 3 annas, 7½ annas or 15 annas. Whatever that may be, it is a meagre sum if you take into account the actual needs and requirements of human beings today. Our economic evils may become the cause of social upheavals, if we are not able to thwart them, to overcome them and to see to it that every individual has the wherewithal to feed himself, to clothe himself, to shelter himself and to educate himself. How are we to get over poverty? We must increase our wealth. But mere increase of wealth is not enough. That wealth should be equitably and properly distributed. Increase in national wealth should reach the ordinary individual, should make him feel that he too gets the benefits of this increased production by the application of modern science and technology to our industrial development.

When you talk about socialistic pattern of society, it means only this: the greatness of a country is judged not by the number of millionaires it has, but by the small number of poor people that there are in the country. The test is the abolition of poverty, not concentration of wealth in a few hands. Therefore it is that we are trying our utmost to raise our national production and to raise it by whatever means are available to us. Whether industry is in the public sector or in the private sector matters little. The most important thing is increase in national wealth and the distribution of that wealth equitably among the people of the country. Equitable distribution is more important than even increase in national wealth. That is what we are attempting to do and I am glad that with the hoary past of this city, it is also fast industrializing itself. That is as it should be. It is a happy blend of both things, of past inheritance and future innovation. We have to be proud not only of our ancient heritage but of our modern achievement also. In that matter this city has set an example to others. It has preserved its ancient glory and it is also increasing its production in agriculture and industry. That is the only way in which economic justice can be secured.

We talk about religious freedom. No country has been so great in its traditions, in its hospitality to other religions as this country has been. From the beginning of our history, we have had the Aryans, the Dravidians, the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Jews, the Parsees, the Muslims and the Christians. If you come across them in any modern city, you find them existing in peaceful collaboration. You have synagogues, churches, mosques and temples, and people are not fighting with one another but trying to live together in amity and harmony. We have always believed in God. We trust that God is superior to whatever names we may give Him. It is essential that this fact of religious freedom should be asserted and carried out in practice. There are narrow-minded people all over the world who think that their religion is

the greatest and that other people should accept it. Such has not been the tradition of this country.

Our culture has spread in different directions, but not by any kind of indoctrination or compulsory conversion. That is anathema to us. So far as the world of religion is concerned, freedom is the atmosphere in which it can grow. It has always been felt in this country that it is not enough for us to grow in wealth or material prosperity but that the spiritual dimensions of man must be recognized and every human individual must feel that there is a spark of the divine in him which is not engendered merely by matter or appurtenances. We say *satyameva jayate,* truth alone prevails. Truth is the name we give to God. It is *satya svarūpa satyanārāyaṇa.* Sometimes in our anxiety for some temporary gain or advantage we compromise with truth and submit to untruth. By doing so, we are bringing about our own ruin. Whatever may be the temptations, whatever may be the consequences that we may have to incur, we must stick to truth at any cost. If we do so, the future of this country is assured. Compromise with truth by unrighteousness should be rooted out. That is what the *Mahābhārata* tells us.

This country has been preserved all these ages not on account of its material prosperity or military prowess but because of its adherence to religious truth, which our saints and sages have testified to. We are living today on account of the great heritage which we have inherited. The saints by their *tapas* sustain this world. Even today it is not the politicians, but people who by their severe austerities, by their great penance, are transforming themselves and making this world into a visible embodiment of the Supreme. It is these people who are the sustainers of our country. They are unknown to name and fame, they are there in their own cellars, but they are doing penance. They are mortifying their flesh, torturing their minds that you and I may live in amity and friendship. In our history we do not talk about the great military heroes, though sometimes in emergencies we talk about Ranjit Singh and Subhas Bose. They are great people to whom we owe a great deal. But we also talk about the secret nourishment which has been supplied to us by the great seers and saints of our country. This city is full of such saints and sages, full of such glories. They sound the glories of God; they have subjected themselves to much trouble and torture that they may see God face to face, and communicate to us their enlightenment. Take the *Tevāram* hymns. Why do they find an echo in our hearts ? It is because they find a hidden place in our hearts. Religion is not living on the surface, not even on the intellectual side, but from your very depths. You must penetrate behind the layers of your body, mind and intellect and get into the very nerve-centre of your conscious-

ness and see there the glory of the Divine. It is such people who have been the originators of our society.

If national solidarity is to be preserved, there should be social justice, equality of men and women, equality of all castes. There are no outcastes in the household of God. It is that equality and economic justice that you have to give. It is because they have but few opportunities that people quarrel, putting up pleas of caste and community. If you provide opportunities to everyone, such complaints will never be heard. You must have religious freedom also. All these things are essential for us so that we may contribute to the growth of a world community, human fellowship and fraternity.

If you turn to our Constitution, you will find there political freedom, social and economic justice, religious freedom and human fellowship and fraternity—these are the things for which we stand. These are the ideals which all authentically religious men stand for. The human race is our race. The world is our community—*mātā me pārvatī devī pitā devo maheśvaraḥ*. We are children of the same parents. So, we must stand by one another and try to help one another. If that sense of brotherhood which has been inculcated in us by our forefathers is practised, practised even to a small extent, this country will take a great leap forward, and it will be a beacon to other nations.

RECONCILIATION AND HARMONY

MR Mayor and friends : I am very grateful to you for your generous words of greetings on this my fourth or fifth visit to the city of Trivandrum, the capital now of the whole of Kerala.

You refer in your address to the work of the great Saṁkarācārya, which is of permanent value. There are many people who think that the work for which he laid the foundations is still unfinished, unaccomplished. He was the prophet of reconciliation and universal harmony. He is said to be an *advaitavādī*, a non-dual philosopher. Non-duality does not mean that the world does not exist. It only means that the world is permeated by one supreme fact—*Iśāvāsyam idaṁ sarvaṁ*. He never looked upon the world as a mere illusion, phantasmagoria or fantasy. It is not a dream world, it is not a mere illusion, but it is not as real as the fundamental, ultimate reality of *Brahman*. This whole universe has a purpose. It goes on from one stage to another : it has ascended from mere non-existence to the present state when

Speech at civic reception, Trivandrum, 29 September, 1963

human intelligence is trying to advance into a spiritual being. Man's destiny consists in transcending his present condition and attaining what may be regarded as illumination. *Mokṣa* is not running away from the world. It is living in the presence of spirit. *Mokṣa* is the attainment by the human individual of a higher status than the one in which he happens to be today. It is not an escape from the world, it is attaining a position where it will be possible for you to transform the world according to your own light. Śaṁkarācārya found people worshipping many gods—he was regarded as *ṣaṇmata sthāpanācārya*—Śiva, Śakti, Viṣṇu, etc. He looked upon all of them as the legitimate, valid forms of the Supreme, and he asked us not to quarrel about these names and other things. If he had been alive today, he would have extended this spirit of harmony to the other religions which also prevail in this country and in the world. He was essentially a democrat, a democrat preaching reconciliation, harmony.

If you take democracy in the proper sense of the term, it is toleration of differences, it is accepting the variety of the world as something to be encouraged and not as something to be destroyed or obliterated. If you have differences, they have to be settled by peaceful methods. Resort to direct action or violence is inconsistent with the spirit of democracy. Democracy requires us to respect each individual as sacred, as an embodiment of the Supreme, and never to regard ourselves as the only repositories of the ultimate truth. It is that view of democracy which we are adopting today in our own country. It requires of us that all people belonging to this country have the chance to develop their spiritual possibilities.

That cannot be done if we do not provide them with food, clothing and shelter. The colossal problem facing this country is this abysmal poverty. If you have enormous wealth on one side and extreme poverty on the other, it must be regarded as a challenge to anyone who believes in democracy. If we are believers in democracy, it must be our attempt to narrow these differences, to bridge this gulf, and to see to it that the wealth of the country is enjoyed by all the people. The peasants, the farmers and the factory workers are all contributing to the production of the nation's wealth. If they are contributing to it, they have a right to enjoy the fruits of their toil. We have for centuries suppressed many of our people, suppressed our men and women, suppressed large masses of people by regarding them as beyond the pale of civilization; for the iniquities which we inflicted, we are held responsible and we are suffering. If we should get rid of them, we must try to exercise our faith in democracy by extending the privileges to all and trying to lift all the people to the same level of equality, equality not merely before law, equality not merely in the Constitution, but equality in everyday life. It is that which we should

do but have not done, and we have suffered for it. If we do not learn from the past, we have to live the past over again. If we became victims of aggression from outside, or upheavals from within, all this is due to the fact that we have not been loyal to the fundamental principles to which we pay lip allegiance and not real allegiance. The same spirit requires us to look upon other nations as units co-operating in the building up of a world community. It does not matter whether you worship God as Viṣṇu, Śiva or Śakti : so also, among nations of the world we should not adopt the view that some nations are black and others pure white. There are no pure white nations in the world. There are no jet-black nations in the world. Some of them have developed certain qualities; others may not have developed those qualities. We must try to co-operate with them all. If we accept the principle of peaceful co-operation and if we are working for achieving world harmony, it is because of this very spirit of democracy. Just as among the religions of this country we do not wish to say that *this* religion is better, *that* religion is worse—individuals may believe what they please—so also as a State, as a Government, we have no such predilections, we have no such prejudices or obscurantist assumptions. From a world point of view, it is essential that all nations emerge from their stage of subjection, that they are lifted from their economic bondage, that our people hold to the idea of a world responsibility. That is what democracy requires us to do.

We talk about democracy but when it comes to any particular thing, we prefer a man belonging to our caste or community or religion. So long as we have this kind of temptation, it means that our democracy is a phoney kind of democracy. We must be in a position to respect a man as a man and to extend opportunities for development to those who deserve them and not those people who happen to belong to our community or race. This fact of favouritism, nepotism, has been responsible for much discontent and ill will in our own country. If anyone asks us why we suffer, we need not point to the stars above, or say that God has punished us. We have to put it down to our iniquities, our disloyalties and our deviations from the ideals which we profess. We have the best ideals inscribed and embodied in our Constitution, but how many of us are carrying them out properly ?

True democrats must not tolerate any kind of corruption, nepotism and communal prejudices and conflicts which are to be found so much all over our country and which have brought down this country again and again to a state of degradation. We know the causes, we know the cure, and all that we have to do is to take the advice of our past seers, whatever religion they may belong to. They ask us to work for unity, for one family on earth. Democracy must be taken seriously.

In a Corporation like this, what is the aim of the members ? : to

make the city a healthy and beautiful one. Why do party differences come in here? Everyone is interested in making the city a good one, of which we can all be proud. Similarly when you are trying to advance your State, why should political differences impede this co-operative effort to enhance the prosperity of Kerala? We must try in the cool hours of reflection to find out what is wrong with us. We must have the single aim of building up a great India and, through that, a great world. India is part of the world, and whatever we may do, it will be good for us to keep this world view.

Your Mayor referred to several of my activities—educational, diplomatic, etc. To the best of my ability, I tried to respect other people and to help them to the best of my ability. I have found in distant places warmth and affection—in East Africa, even in South Africa in 1939 when I visited that place; in America and Great Britain there is much of goodwill for us—but we must deserve that goodwill. We can do so only if we raise ourselves in our own esteem, if we are able to take into account the miseries of our country and do our utmost to redress them. There is only one thing that will be remembered of us fifty years or later when not many of us will be remembered: if we have done something noble, something which will outlast our lives, perhaps we may be remembered. All other things are tinsel and not worth pursuing. Try, therefore, to believe in democracy, to believe in the potential divinity of every man, try to understand that if you insult a man, you insult God, you are an atheist, you are not a believer. If you are a believer, you will always treat others with the utmost dignity and respect.

Saṁkarācārya, to whom reference was made by the Mayor, was a prophet of reconciliation in his own time, and if this spirit is preserved, he will also be a prophet of reconciliation and harmony to the whole world.

INDIA

FORCE IS NO ARBITER

FRIENDS: tomorrow is the ninety-third anniversary of Gandhiji's birth. Our country is better today because there had come into its life a rare spirit, who, having rediscovered the law of God, strove to put it into practice, despite difficulties and discouragements. His life was a continuous struggle against the unspiritual. The light of such a one shone like a strong beacon on a dark and disordered world. A superhuman passion for truth and love was his principal characteristic. He gave us the purest, the most inspiring, the most elevating ideal known to man. His was the voice of the new world, the voice of a fuller life, a more comprehensive consciousness.

Gandhiji says: "The world of tomorrow will be, must be, a society based on non-violence. It may seem a distant goal, an impracticable Utopia. But it is not in the least unattainable, since it can be worked for from here and now. An individual can adopt the way of life of the future—the non-violent way—without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can do it, cannot whole groups of individuals, whole nations? Man often hesitates to make a beginning because he feels that the objective cannot be achieved in its entirety. This attitude of mind is precisely our greatest obstacle to progress, an obstacle that each man, if he only wills it, can clear away."

The week commencing from 2 October, 1962, is to be observed as National Integration Week. Nature through her seas and mountains has decreed the oneness of India; her culture from one end to the other has provided the essential bonds; and the vicissitudes of history and her struggle for freedom have demonstrated unmistakably the need for solidarity. Understanding and tolerance will enable us to settle our mutual differences peacefully and make this country a stable and mighty force for peace and progress in the world. But, unfortunately, divisive forces and separatist tendencies are manifesting themselves. A wave of indiscipline and resort to force is spreading. To check these tendencies we are reminding ourselves of our great traditions and the example of Gandhiji, and we are resolving that we will not resort to force for the settlement of internal differences, domestic issues. We shall try to solve them in a democratic way, through discussion and persuasion.

The use of force spreads an atmosphere of violence and brings about a coarsening of the moral fibre. It brutalizes our nature. So we affirm our faith in the principle of non-violence, *ahiṁsā* is *vaira-tyāga*, or renunciation of hatred, ill will, fear, *krodha, bhaya*. We must be renewed in our whole nature. We must develop the inner sense of right

Message for National Integration Week, 1 October, 1962

and preserve our individual integrity, whatever happens. Respect for others is the basic principle of civilized behaviour.

śrūyatāṁ dharma-sarvasvaṁ
śrutvā caivāvadhāryatāṁ
ātmanaḥ pratikūlāni
pareṣāṁ na samācaret

The essence of all *dharma* is not doing to others what you do not wish to be done to yourself. All religions make this the central principle of their ethics.

Gandhiji was not a doctrinaire. He said, "I do not say : 'Eschew violence in your dealing with robbers or thieves, or with nations that may invade India.' But in order to be better able to do so, we must learn to restrain ourselves. It is a sign not of strength, but of weakness, to take up the pistol on the slightest pretext. Mutual fisticuffs are a training, not in violence but in emasculation. My method of non-violence can never lead to loss of strength, but it alone will make it possible, if the nation wills it, to offer disciplined and concerted violence in time of danger."

Force is not the arbiter. It is the servant of law. Legal restraint of the antisocial elements, *daṇḍa,* is different from the wanton infliction of pain, *hiṁsā*. Such use of force is regarded by us as a deviation from the ideal, which has to be accepted with regret.

In a society which is governed by love, there will be no need for the use of force. Narada says : "When men were habitually devoted to *dharma* and were always truthful, there was no *vyavahāra* (legal disputes), no hatred, no selfishness." In an imperfect society, however, there are people who do not recognize their obligations to their fellow men. Such antisocial elements have to be restrained, if necessary, by force. Life at best is one long second best.

The signing of the pledge is the first step towards the remodelling of our society. We must always strive to live according to the highest ideal of non-violence and work for the integration of our people and of mankind.

NATIONAL RESOLUTION

FRIENDS : I am glad to have this opportunity to meet you all and to learn something of the work which the Citizens' Central Council is doing. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has just explained briefly some of the things in which this Council is engaged.

Address to the Citizens' Central Council, New Delhi, 18 December, 1962

Our country since Independence has been striving to establish democracy based on social justice and friendship among all nations. These are the basic principles of our Constitution. Democracy means that the disabilities and artificial restraints from which people suffer should be removed as rapidly as possible. We should give every individual opportunity for self-expression and self-development. We are trying to avoid concentration of wealth in a few hands and to give all our people equal opportunities for their development. When we talk of socialist reconstruction of society, we are not adopting any kind of dogmatic code. It is a flexible code. Our greatest need is an increase in our agricultural and industrial production. Whatever is essential for it, we should adopt; and we adopted the objectives of diminishing the distance between colossal wealth and abysmal poverty, and of raising the material standards of our people.

There has been some controversy about our policy of non-alignment. Let us understand that, when we speak about it, we are not saying that we are neutral between right and wrong, or that we are not committed to the principles of freedom. When these things are violated, we condemn the aggressors. We adopt the policy of non-alignment because we do not wish to forfeit the right of giving independent judgment which would be the case the moment we belonged to a particular group. We wish to have no restriction as an individual nation in putting forward our views. Actually we now see that it has been put to the test and it has not been found wanting. Countries, whether democratic or communist, have expressed their sympathy. Look at the French Communist Party, look at the Italian Communist Party. They have all appreciated our stand and condemned aggression. But, for certain reasons, certain other States are not in a position to express their views openly.

So the three principles, democracy, socialist planning and non-alignment, must be regarded as having been put to the test and found adequate in this crisis. We have had recent offers from Africans, Europeans and Americans; they have told us that they are prepared to join our Defence Forces.

If all these things are correct, why are we in this position? The answer again is that after the attainment of Independence, we practically relaxed into a kind of comfort-loving position and began to talk about our religion, politics and other things. All of a sudden, overnight as it were, when this attack came, we woke up and found ourselves one united nation with a common purpose and objective. Our defences were not in good shape because we were attuned to peace and were not prepared for an attack from our northern neighbours. Today we must recognize that we cannot leave our borders unguarded. They can be breached at any time at the will of our neighbours, who can

penetrate the wall and enter our country. If we are to prevent this, it is essential for us to see to it that our borders are properly guarded and well protected and that we are not again caught off guard. That is one of the essential things which should be done. These deficiencies and inadequacies can be dealt with by the National Defence Council and the Ministry of Defence.

The Citizens' Council has to give some kind of support to the Defence Forces. There are a number of things which they can do. The whole country has been stirred to its very depths. Every individual wishes to have a sense of participation in the great struggle which is now on. It is essential for us to enlist the enthusiasm of the people and make them feel that they are doing something vital for the development of the country. If we do not utilize the present enthusiasm and emotion which are now found all over the whole country, there will be a tendency for them to fade away, to lapse. The sense of urgency should not be lost. Even though the Chinese may withdraw at any time, the Himalayan borders have become sensitive and at any time they may become danger spots. It is essential for us to see that our borders are well protected.

It is also necessary, as Shrimati Indira Gandhi has just told us, that we must look to the interests of the jawans, provide them with amenities and see that they feel that the nation is behind them, and that when they are fighting at the Front, they are not alone. The people of the country are with them. But this mere expression of sympathy is not enough. There must be a practical expression of our interest in the jawans' welfare. We must be able to do that thing. It does not matter who gets the credit. The work should be done. That should be the motive which should activate all those who are doing this job. There are organizations at different levels—at the district level, at the States' level, and at the national level. These must all be integrated into a single whole so that there may not be any kind of overlapping.

Another thing that we have to avoid is loose talk. This country has become a whispering gallery. Troop movements, receipt of military aid, every little thing that happens, are reported in the press and are talked about by individuals. You do not know the military danger that it constitutes. This kind of rumour must be put an end to and you must try to give the truth, which is the only way by which error and falsehood can be combated.

The work, therefore, which this organization has to do is of vital importance. It can strengthen the national fibre, develop the national purpose and fashion the national will. If we are able to utilize this opportunity, this attack by the Chinese will be a blessing in disguise. We should try to bring together all our people, whatever their

caste or community, into one single whole, co-ordinate their activities and make them feel that they are participating in this work.

I shall do what little I can in this matter, and I hope that your deliberations will be a great success and help to consolidate the national will, and promote national well-being.

A YEAR OF REGENERATION

FRIENDS: on the eve of the 14th Republic Day, I should like to greet our countrymen at home and abroad and convey to them my best wishes for the future.

In the stream of history the pronouncements of political leaders are of an ephemeral character. The archives of nations are filled with decrees, decisions and declarations which were meant to resound for decades, if not centuries, but were forgotten in a few months, if not weeks. Gandhiji's message, however, rings in our minds and hearts, though many of us have not the strength to carry it out in our lives. His insistence on truth and non-violence has been the governing principle of our Constitution, which is directed to the achievement of the objectives of democratic freedom, social justice and fellowship among nations.

The State in a parliamentary democracy is not an end in itself. It is a means for the purpose of binding men together in a justly ordered social life. Strong public opinion should set itself against attempts to bring democratic processes into disrepute.

We have been striving our utmost to raise the living standards of our people. We are not satisfied with our achievements in this matter, considerable as they are. We are aware of the long distance that we have yet to traverse before we can reach the level of self-sufficiency in the production of foodgrains and the development of an industrial base so very essential for future progress. We are working for a planned development in agriculture and industry, and are engaged in large schemes of educational progress, improvement in health, sanitation and housing, especially in urban areas. We need large export savings as a source of vital necessity for our plans on defence and development. While we are grateful to the friendly countries which have helped us with their experience, skill and assistance in working out our Plans, ultimately we have to depend on our own efforts. We need to develop our resources and achieve in a generation, if not in a decade, what other nations have taken centuries to accomplish.

Message to the Nation for Republic Day, 25 January, 1963

In our relations with other nations it has been our endeavour to establish peaceful co-operation. Our policy of non-involvement in military blocs has helped us to foster fellowship among all nations, whatever their political and economic systems may be. In pursuance of this policy we did our best to establish cordial relations with our neighbour, China. Even as we were attempting to resolve our border differences through peaceful negotiations and proposing a conference for that purpose, China, in violation of the principles to which both our countries have subscribed, decided to change the boundary by resort to arms. The large-scale attack on our frontiers took us by surprise. On account of our traditional adherence to the methods of peace and the habits engendered by it, we were psychologically unprepared for meeting this sudden aggression. Owing to the difficult terrain and numerical superiority of the Chinese, we suffered military reverses. These have opened our eyes to the realities of the situation. We are now aware of our inadequacies and are alive to the needs of the present and the demands of the future. The country has developed a new purpose, a new will. The difficulties and dangers we are passing through, will, I hope, cleanse us and purge us of our smallness.

We are now taking steps to strengthen our defences. This cannot be achieved by mere wishful thinking or pious resolutions. It has to be worked out by an orderly succession of well-directed efforts and disciplined behaviour. We cannot afford to relax our efforts in building up defence forces adequate for the security of our country, with its size and population. The traditional valour and personal bravery of our troops are very high. When properly equipped and trained they will be one of the finest armies in the world.

The attack by China has demonstrated the remarkable unity of our people. The emotional upsurge can be stabilized at deeper levels, if we do not allow petty worries, selfish ambitions and incoherence to take hold of us. Private and personal interests should not be permitted to prevail over national welfare. Our government, our economy, our education, should keep pace with modern standards of economy, efficiency and rectitude. Within the context of this development and discipline we have to bring about a transformation of our country. From ancient times, a democratic attitude of tolerance and understanding of other faiths and ways of life has grown up in the country. An ancient text says that men and women of India belong to different communities, worship different gods and practise different rites :

bhārateṣu striyaḥ puṁso nānāvarṇāḥ prakīrtitāḥ
nānādevārcane yuktāḥ nānākarmāṇi kurvate[1]

[1]*Kūrma Purāṇa*, 47, 21

Among the devotees there is no distinction of caste, learning, beauty, birth, wealth, profession and the like :

nāsti teṣu jāti-vidyā-rūpa-kula-dhana-kriyādi bhedaḥ[1]

In spite of occasional deviations and set-backs, our people have held to this ideal.

Although the expenditure on defence is likely to be heavy, we should not neglect or postpone the projects and schemes in our Five Year Plans since they are essential for building up our strength and thus enabling our people to lead lives of dignity and freedom.

Our policy is one of peaceful settlement of international disputes though we are obliged to resist aggression when it occurs. Our resistance is to be carried out without ill will or hatred. Our faith in *ahiṁsā* does not mean cowardly submission to aggression. It is resistance to evil without violence in our minds or hatred in our hearts. While non-violence does not mean surrender to evil, it also requires that we should be ready to negotiate for an honourable settlement if and when an opportunity arises.

This conflict with China does not in any way diminish our faith in the United Nations and the growth of a world community. We live in an age of the decline of the nation-State and the rise of a world society. All men are brothers, though nation-States sometimes seem to be hostile to one another. We have been striving, to the extent to which one nation can, to strengthen the United Nations and give it authority and power to protect small and weak nations from attacks by larger and stronger powers. We will continue in our endeavours to transform the United Nations into a world authority. Till this goal is reached, so long as there are nations which esteem and respect only military strength, we owe it to ourselves to give our people security to lead their lives unfettered by interference from outside.

We are convinced of the irrationality of war. We know that it does not settle disputes; but when our security is imperilled, when justice is violated, we are obliged to use force for defensive purposes. While individuals may adopt an attitude of complete abstention from the use of force in any circumstances, the State cannot adopt such a policy if it is to discharge its first duty to give protection to its citizens. Even States should ceaselessly strive with discipline and courage to narrow the scope for the use of force and to enlarge that for persuasion.

We do not wish to change our basic policies of democratic freedom, social justice and friendship among nations merely because military conflict is thrust upon us to our great sorrow. We will follow a policy

[1]*Nārada Bhakti Sūtra*, 72

of friendship to all nations and enmity towards none. We shall do everything in our power to clear up misunderstandings and suspicions with our neighbours without losing patience or hope. We shall not at any time, or in any circumstance, be tempted into a large-country or great-civilization complex. We know that national self-confidence is essential for survival, but we know also that national conceit is a source of irritation to others. By our every word and action we create a climate of friendliness or annoyance, and we should be vigilant about what we say or do in regard to international questions.

Nationalism and internationalism do not involve us in an either/or. Internationalism is an overarching ideal which reconciles the national concepts that we have developed. To this generation is given the responsibility and the opportunity to change the international situation and safeguard not only itself but the future generations for whom we hold the world in trust. It is a race against time and we must win it. It is our hope that the great nations of the world will turn back from the race in nuclear armaments and co-operate in combating the enemies of humanity, poverty, ignorance and disease, and help to give a better life to all people by utilizing the enormous resources of science and technology.

We are entering a new year which holds out new beginnings and new possibilities. For every one of us it can be a year of regeneration, of renewal. From the old past with its mistakes, sorrows and failures we can rise to a new state endowed with power and purpose, and radiant with the inspiration of a new ideal. Let us strive to raise ourselves morally and spiritually, and work for the new order.

ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

MEMBERS of Parliament : I welcome you to your labours in a new session of the Third Parliament of our Republic.

Ever since the constitution of our Republic, our Parliament has had to face difficult problems and to shoulder heavy responsibilities. Under the guidance of Parliament, we have laboured for the fulfilment of the objectives laid down in our Constitution : to secure for all our citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote, among them all, fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. We have directed all our

Address to Parliament, New Delhi, 18 February, 1963

energies towards the establishment of a structure of society wherein these objectives can be effectively realized. We have also, in accordance with our past traditions, laboured for world peace and endeavoured to cultivate friendly and co-operative relations with all countries, avoiding military alliances. We venture to think that we have been of some service in this respect to the international community.

Soon after the constitution of our Republic, we began our long pilgrimage to reach our objective of a democratic and socialist order and adopted planned approaches to this end. Two Five Year Plans succeeded each other, and now we are in the middle of the Third Five Year Plan. During this period, we have made substantial progress in many sectors of our economy, even though we have not always been satisfied with the progress made.

Agriculture, which is the most important sector of our economy, has undergone material developments, and agricultural production has increased considerably. Industry, both large-scale and small-scale, as well as village industries, has shown marked progress, and gradually an industrial base of our economy is being established. The nation's health has improved greatly, and the expectation of life, which used to be 32 in the nineteen forties, has reached 47 and is rising still. Striking results have been obtained in the programme for the eradication of malaria. Education, even though a great deal more has to be done to improve its quality and content, has spread rapidly. By the end of March 1962, there were over fifty million boys and girls in our schools and colleges. Stress has been specially laid on scientific and technical education and a large number of new technological institutions are functioning now.

Engrossed though we were in our internal development, we continued to take purposeful interest in international affairs, always laying stress on the vital importance of world peace. On some occasions, our participation made a difference and helped the cause of peace. We had hoped not only that world peace would be progressively assured, but also that we would continue to live at peace with our neighbours, and that any problems that arose would be settled by peaceful methods. We settled some of our important problems with Pakistan, but unfortunately other important ones still remain. We are anxious to settle these also peacefully so that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with our common history, culture and traditions, live as friendly and co-operative neighbours.

Some years ago, China commenced its surreptitious aggression in Ladakh, which later resulted in some incidents between the two countries. This matter has often been discussed in Parliament. We hoped that we would succeed in solving this question also through peaceful methods. On the 8th of September last, however, a new aggression started across

the border in the North East Frontier Agency and, after some probing attacks, China, on the 20th October, mounted a massive attack on both the NEFA and the Ladakh sectors of the India-China boundary. In the middle of November, a second massive attack followed and our forces received a set-back. Subsequently, the Chinese Government ordered unilaterally a cease-fire and a withdrawal.

These massive attacks and further aggression on our territory had a powerful effect on our people and resulted in a widespread and spontaneous display of unity all over the country. All the petty internal differences were hushed and stopped in the face of this peril to the nation's integrity and freedom. Parliament gave a lead to the nation in this matter in November last and our people, throughout the length and breadth of India, whole-heartedly followed this lead.

Any attack on the integrity of India would have been painful, but an attack coming from a country with whom we had tried to be friendly, and whose cause we had espoused in international councils, was a gross betrayal and came as a great shock to our people. Inevitably, the first duty of the nation in these circumstances was to meet this aggression effectively and to prepare the country to that end.

At present no actual fighting is taking place. But the experience of the last few months has warned and steeled us, and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defences and economic structure to the utmost. Our Government is devoting itself to this urgent and vital task.

Soon after the Chinese aggression, our Government appealed to the countries of the world asking for their sympathy and support. We are grateful to the large number of them who responded and extended their sympathy. A number of them have also given practical support, and we are grateful to them. In particular, I should like to express our gratitude to the United States of America and the United Kingdom for the speed with which they gave their support to us in a moment of crisis.

The last session of Parliament discussed fully certain proposals which were put forward by the Governments of Ceylon and five other non-aligned countries. These proposals did not deal with the merits of the basic dispute between India and China, but suggested some method of creating an atmosphere which would enable these basic questions to be discussed. After full consideration and reference to Parliament, our Government conveyed their acceptance of these proposals as clarified by the Colombo Powers, without any reservations. The Chinese Government has thus far not accepted them, and we cannot say at present what developments may take place in the future. Our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will always endeavour to solve disputes peacefully provided this is in consonance with our honour and

freedom. But whatever may happen, we cannot and will not submit to dictation backed by military force.

The issue of the Chinese aggression has been, and is today, the overriding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place and, if a country cannot defend them, then other matters lose significance. The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue. A National Defence Council has been formed and a National Defence Fund started. This Fund has met with a generous response from our people. Many Citizens' Councils have been formed in the different States; and a Central Citizens' Council, to co-ordinate the activities of the other Councils, has also been instituted.

Many steps have been taken in order to expand our armed forces and to increase production in our ordnance factories and other defence establishments. The assistance of civil factories is also being taken to this end. I should like to express our Government's gratitude to the workers of all these factories. They have responded wonderfully to the cause of the nation. This is true of others working in fields and factories and in Government undertakings all over the country, and it has been a heartening experience for all of us to see this mighty response of a great people in the face of peril to the motherland.

Soon after the declaration of Emergency, the central organizations of labour and management unanimously adopted an industrial truce resolution aiming at the total elimination of industrial disputes, and increase of production and reduction of cost to the maximum extent possible. In pursuance of this, Emergency Production Committees have been set up at the Centre, in the States and in many industrial establishments.

In view of the great burdens cast on us by the Chinese aggression and the steps taken to meet it, the question arose as to how far our Third Five Year Plan could be carried through without considerable change. On full consideration of the matter, our Government came to the conclusion that a very great part of the Plan was essential for strengthening the nation, and its implementation was, therefore, necessary even from the point of view of defence. Economic development and industrial growth are the very bases of our defence preparedness. To stop or slow down this process of economic development would result in weakening the country. It has therefore been decided to continue implementing the Third Five Year Plan with such minor modifications as may be necessitated by the circumstances, and by re-orienting our industrial pattern so as to give priority to defence needs. Thus, in the field of agriculture, industry, transport, communications, power, technical education and research, we have to continue to do our utmost. A strong agricultural base is a prerequisite of national security.

Industry is essential for defence, as also the growth of power and transport and technical education.

Intensive agricultural programmes have led to increases in per acre yields of rice from 15 to 21 per cent, of wheat from 8 to 15 per cent, and of barley from 11 to 25 per cent, as compared to the previous year. The upward trend in industrial output has continued and the increase in industrial production, in the first nine months of 1962, is estimated to be around seven and a half per cent. The production of iron and steel is steadily increasing and steps have been taken for the expansion of the steel plants in the public sector, and for the setting up of an alloy steel plant at Durgapur. Further progress has been made in the development of our mineral and oil resources. Coal production has been steadily increasing and it is hoped that the target for production of 61 million tons will be achieved this year.

In December 1962, the Indian merchant fleet reached a tonnage of one million gross registered tons. The target for acquiring additional tonnage of five hundred and fifty thousand gross registered tons, to be attained by 1966, is well within sight three years ahead of the close of the Plan. Two hundred thousand tons have already been acquired, and firm orders have been placed for the acquisition of more than two hundred thousand tons.

Economy in expenditure, the elimination of waste, conservation of our limited material resources, and restraint on consumption, always important, are of particular importance today. The basic necessaries of the people should be fully secured and the price line maintained. It is a tribute to the sense of discipline and solidarity of our people that, immediately after the declaration of Emergency, there was a spontaneous and general recognition of the need for preserving the stability of the economy. The general level of wholesale prices at present is no higher than it was at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan. In order to put an end to the strain on our foreign exchange resources through smuggling of gold into India, certain rules have been framed to bring gold under control.

Our Atomic Energy programme has shown rapid progress. A uranium mine is being opened in Bihar and a uranium mill is under construction. The first nuclear power-station at Tarapore will be followed by a second station near Rana Pratap Sagar in Rajasthan; a third one will be located on the east coast in Madras State. It appears, on further enquiry, that the cost of electric power from the Tarapore Station will be less than that from a coal power-station of the same size in the same locality. These power-stations will also lighten the pressure on our railway and transport system.

The Community Development programme now covers almost the entire country, and panchayati raj is now functioning in nine States.

In view of the Emergency, a special programme has been started for the full mobilization of rural India to meet the challenge of national defence. Village Volunteer Forces will be organized in every panchayat with a three-fold programme : production, mass education and village defence. An integral part of the scheme is the creation of a Defence Labour Bank based on the donation of free labour at the minimum rate of one day's labour per month by every adult. The co-operative movement in the rural areas has made considerable progress, and the membership of primary agricultural credit societies, which is 20 million now, is expected to rise to 24 million in 1963 and to 28 million next year. More than a thousand co-operative farming societies have been organized so far.

I am glad to inform you that the Government of France has ratified the Treaty of Cession in respect of the former French establishments. This completes the *de jure* transfer of these establishments to India.

Our relations with Nepal continue to be friendly. Indian aid to Nepal, both in the fields of economic help and technical assistance, has achieved satisfactory results. India has promised Nepal economic aid to the extent of eighteen crores of rupees during the Third Five Year Plan period, apart from the Kosi and Gandak projects, the benefits from which will accrue both to India and Nepal.

India has also given substantial aid to Bhutan and Sikkim for their economic development. India sponsored the membership of Bhutan to the Colombo Plan, and Bhutan participated in the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee at Melbourne in November, 1962.

The Government of India has welcomed the independence of Algeria, Burundi, Jamaica, Rwanda, Trinidad, Tobago and Uganda, which have been admitted as members of the United Nations. We wish these newly-independent countries every success. Nyasaland is also to have self-government soon.

In the Congo, our troops functioning under the United Nations have helped greatly in solving some of the difficult problems that had arisen there. Our troops will remain there until the United Nations is able to release them without placing its peace-keeping operations in jeopardy.

In the course of the past year, we have had goodwill visits, which we have welcomed, from many Heads of States and Prime Ministers and others from many countries. Among them were Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, President Lopez Mateos of Mexico, Mr Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, President of the People's Republic of Rumania, President Makarios of Cyprus, Dr Heinrich Luebke, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Their Majesties the King and Queen of Greece, Prime Minister Mr Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Prime

Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaya, Mr Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of Yugoslavia, and Dr Rashid Karame, Prime Minister of Lebanon.

While our efforts are directed to meeting our grave problems and the mobilization of our human and material resources, both for defence and economic development, we welcome the slight improvement in the international situation. Cuba afforded us an example of the world hovering over the very brink of nuclear war, which, however, was avoided by the restraint and goodwill of the great powers involved. There have been some indications of relaxation of tension and the possibility of agreements being reached in regard to the banning of nuclear weapons.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1963-64 will be laid before you.

Among the Bills that will be placed before you for your consideration, will be : a Bill to provide for the representation for the Union territory of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam in Parliament; The Union Territories Bill; The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Amendment Bill; The Indian Emigration (Amendment Bill); The Industrial Disputes (Amendment Bill); The Factories (Amendment) Bill, and The Delhi Development (Amendment) Bill.

Members of Parliament, we are meeting today at a grave moment in our history. Committed as we are to build up a democratic socialist society in which progress is sought and attained by peaceful methods and by consent, we have to face the menace of foreign aggression. I earnestly trust that this Parliament, which is ultimately responsible for our policies and for guiding the nation, will face these great tasks with courage and wisdom and a spirit of tolerance and co-operative endeavour. May your labours bear fruit for the good of our country and people, and the world. Awake, arise, understand the opportunities you have and stop not till the goal is reached : *uttiṣṭhata jāgrata prāpya-varān nibodhata.*

A NATION COMES OF AGE

FRIENDS : I do not know where to begin in the short time at my disposal. I should like to tell you that India has today 440 million people practising different religions, speaking different languages,

Address to a Press correspondents' luncheon, Washington, 5 June, 1963

and of different racial origins. The fact that such a large mass of humanity is held together in a stable administration and has preserved its administrative unity, continuity, all these years, when round about you find smaller countries collapsing on account of their internal divisions and dissensions, is a thing that could not have been anticipated by some of our critics when the transfer of power took place. They told us that immediately the transfer happened, India would get Balkanized, the Indian states would revolt, the writ of law would not run, there would be no safety of property or life, no virgin or rupee would be safe in the country.

That was the kind of anticipation and apprehension that people had when independence was granted to India. But the events which followed the achievement of independence have practically disappointed all such gloomy critics of Indian independence. We have there a large mass of humanity, held together not by coercion, not by dictatorship, but by a democratic outlook, an outlook with safeguards for the integrity of the individual. It does not wish to enfeeble or impoverish any human being.

All the living faiths of the world are there. You have Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, etc. They're all living, generally speaking, in amity and harmony. The tradition of the country is responsible for that. The Jews came to us when the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed in the first century A.D. The Christians came to us in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Zoroastrians came to us when Islam occupied Iran. And the Muslims came to us in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., and they have been there all these years.

The country has had a tradition in religion that it is not a matter of doctrine or dogma or rites; it is a matter of man's encounter with the Ultimate Mystery of the world. All these doctrines and dogmas, rites and ceremonies, are instruments which help the human individual to see his God face to face. They point out to us, to use Saint Paul's expression, that on the way to it we see as through a glass darkly; when we get out of it, we see Him face to face. The pathways may twist and turn, but when once you reach the top you have the spiritual landscape which is common to all the mystics and seers from whatever direction they approach that quest. Whether you're a Hindu, a Muslim or a Christian, your differences relate to the ways of approach, or forms of address . . . but when once the religious quest is completed, when you're able to reach your goal of completing yourself, of integrating your personality from whatever religion you come, you feel that you belong to one common family.

This has been the tradition that has come down to us for the last 30 or 40 centuries. And as new religions came, we adopted this same

kind of attitude. That is why we find there in the same street in Bombay a mosque, a church, a Zoroastrian temple and a Jewish synagogue, all these things are found there, existing in peaceful co-operation with each other. I, myself, had the honour of inaugurating the Marian Congress in Bombay at the instance of the late Pope who asked me to do so. I have spoken in Hindu temples, Buddhist monasteries, Christian churches, Muslim mosques, Zoroastrian temples, Jewish synagogues and Sikh gurudwaras, without any compromise of my intellectual conscience or injury to my spiritual convictions. I have done that and most of our people adopt a similar attitude in the matter of religion.

When you come to the languages of the country you have nearly 14 languages spoken there in different parts. But all the people in India are held together. Now we have had a decision recently in our Parliament that while Hindi will be the official language of the country, English will also be an alternative official language unless modified by Parliament at later stages. These are the links which bind people speaking different languages. The linguistic redistribution of provinces, it was apprehended, might break up the country's unity. That has not happened. Actually, the 600 odd Indian states, which were independent and were governing themselves, have all been integrated into the country. We introduced agrarian legislation which abolished the system of landlords and which gave the tenant a right in the agricultural produce that he harvests.

I remember talking to Mr Stalin thirteen years ago in 1950...he said, "We have abolished the landlord system, luck to you. I was not able to do it without using methods of coercion." That is what he mentioned to me years ago there. We know that one great impediment to progress in our country is the existence of colossal poverty. We are trying to remove that poverty to the extent possible by increasing our industrial production, by modernizing ourselves, by helping our tenants to produce more and see to it that there is better yield per acre.

Do not imagine that we have been successful in either eradicating poverty or removing illiteracy. We are in the direction of marching towards those goals. Poverty *is* there, illiteracy *is* there, but generally speaking, we have had some improvements in both these directions.

I was just mentioning to my friend that if you go to the villages in India, you will find there more bicycles used by our ordinary people. They are better clad, better housed. We have schools, hospitals, spread over the country...but not enough. We have a great deal to do. I always say the little done and the vast undone. I can only point out that these are the goals which we have set before ourselves and we are trying our utmost to bring about better conditions for our ordinary people.

In all these matters, we did not wish to coerce anybody. It is

within the framework of democratic institutions that we have tried to bring about a transformation of our ordinary society. That is what we have been attempting to do and there is a general appreciation in the country of the work that has been done in the last 15 or 16 years.

We had in 1943 a famine which affected 3 million people in Bengal. After the achievement of independence we have had nothing like that. We begged, borrowed, bought, rationed our stuff and tried to see that the ordinary man did not suffer from hunger. . . that's what we attempted to do, that's one improvement. If you realize that the expectancy of life today is 50—whereas it was 34 or 35 in 1947—that will give you an idea of what we have been attempting to do in our country.

Well, that is the general position. My friend told me you are concerned about China and you'd like to know what we feel about it. I might tell you that this conflict with China is not of our choosing. At a time when we proposed measures for the purpose of allaying tensions and bringing the Chinese and the Indian leaders together to discuss our problems, these incursions took place. They imposed heavy burdens on us. As I said a little while ago, military weakness is a temptation, military strength may prove a deterrent. The Himalayas, which were regarded as invulnerable, which we thought (as you considered for centuries the Atlantic Ocean) as something impassable, those mountains have become now sensitive and alive. Those mountains have been breached and several passes could be used for transport of men and material. And so at any time it is possible for the Chinese to enter the country through those passes. That is why we are anxious, much against our will, to increase our military strength. . . we are obliged to increase our budget for defence expenditure, divert our resources, to these purposes. That is what has been happening recently.

In this matter your country has been of considerable assistance to us. We realized that our stability is one of the greatest factors making for stability in the whole of Asia. If you look at the whole thing there, you will see how a large power like us, while trying to maintain its democratic institutions, makes rapid progress so far as social and economic conditions are concerned. What we are able to achieve by our efforts may help other nations by our example which is bound to be infectious.

It is therefore our present duty not to impede much our social and economic progress, but at the same time to keep our defences strong. That we are anxious for a peaceful settlement, that we did not choose this conflict is evident from the fact that our Prime Minister and Government have proposed a reference to the Hague Court or arbitration for the settlement of our disputes with China. But after all, peace requires two—it doesn't depend on one. Even if we wish to settle these problems, we'll be able to settle them equitably, satisfactorily,

only if we have some strength to back our negotiating power. That is how it stands. It is not merely a question of imposing military defeat on us, it is not a question of defeating us on the battlefield, but it is a question of disrupting our way of life and making people feel that democracy is slow and cumbrous and will not give results if we proceed in this way.

But there is one fundamental thing we have to remember. Democracy saves your soul, it preserves the integrity of the spirit, it makes you feel that the world is not to be purchased at the cost of your soul, it is right, it is righteous; we must therefore adopt the principles of democracy, however long and arduous the path may be, because it takes you along lines which are honest, are righteous, which make for endurance for any kind of society. That is why—come what may—whatever may be the consequences or cost—we are pledged to adopt the democratic way of life and we'll carry on at that as far as possible.

My friend asked me about non-alignment. I was asked the same question this morning at a television interview we had. On a previous visit to this country the same question was put to me and I gave an answer which I may repeat, but it is not...I wouldn't use it today... in the way in which I did some years ago. I told my questioners, in the last address which your first President Washington gave, he warned that United States should not get entangled in European alliances. During the First World War when Lloyd George asked Mr Page, the US Ambassador in London, to get on the side of Great Britain and the Allies, Mr Lloyd George got the answer: "Why do you wish us to get into that furnace from which we escaped?" A distinguished royal visitor who came after the First World War on a tour of this country was asked a question: What would England do if Japan attacked America? He gave the answer: "We'd wait for three years and join the winning side." In the Second World War until Pearl Harbour was attacked, though America was completely on the side of the Allies, until her own security was imperilled, America did not join the war as an actual belligerent—though she was otherwise participating in the war. I recall having said: "There is no war today and there's no question of our joining this side or that side...If we want to avoid social upheaval in our country, if we want to avoid a revolution in our country, it is necessary for us to spend all of our resources on building up our economy, on making the ordinary man feel that his interests are looked after by us; by fighting poverty we preserve the stability of our country, by throwing away all our resources on the development of military strength, we invite social upheaval. We are therefore really working for a stable Government in our country by concentrating all our resources on the development of our country."

Non-alignment does not mean that we are not aligned or committed to freedom and peace, peaceful methods of bringing about changes for justice in this world, for respect for law, and respect for justice. These are things which are innate in us. We do not wish to barter them away, whatever may be the temptations that are put in our way. We say we are "non-involved" in military blocs. Our non-involvement has helped the world in considerable ways. When for the Korean Commission you wanted to choose a chairman who did not belong to either bloc, you had to come to India and ask her to be the chairman of the Korean Commission.

We are today the Chairman of the Laos International Commission of Control. So if a country like India were not there, you would have had to invent one for the purpose of bringing the two blocs together. If we are able to talk to the Soviet Union, not as partisans, but as people interested in humanity, interested in trying to safeguard the highest canons of justice, and telling them that it is your duty now to understand and come to a settlement, it will be with greater weight, but I wish to assure you that our commitment to democracy, our pledge to stand by the ideals of freedom, justice, they are organic to our Constitution. Our people have taken to democracy. The very fact that we have had three general elections, which passed off smoothly, the very fact that our democratic structure has survived the recent Chinese crisis, these things indicate that democracy is something that has taken firm roots in our country. Non-alignment does not mean any kind of equivocation or any kind of giving away of the fundamental principles on which democracy is based. It gives us the right to decide what we consider to be right on international issues.

Though we were members of the British Commonwealth, when the Suez crisis came, we had the independence to say that what Britain and France were doing was wrong. If we were aligned, if we had become members of this group or that group, it would have created difficulties for us. We want to have the liberty of deciding all issues as they arise on their merits in the interest of humanity, which is higher than all nations. National interest, national security, are not all in this world. Many nations have come into existence and have passed away; their days are done, their altars smoke no more. But yet certain fundamental principles for which the great nations of the world have stood, they are still surviving.

Another question which is on the minds of many people here is, "you talk so big, what are you doing with regard to the Kashmir dispute?" I want to say here and now on behalf of my Government that we—in the last round of talks with Pakistani leaders—said that we are prepared to pledge ourselves not to use force to settle the Kashmir dispute or any other dispute. We are prepared to put forward a no-war

pact and get it registered in the United Nations. We are prepared to disengage the military forces on the cease-fire line and have already done so to an extent. That does not mean that we stabilize the situation or we are preserving the *status quo*. We shall not "freeze" the situation, but we'll do everything in our power to try to get a settlement in a peaceful atmosphere without the threat of war, without intimidation, without blackmail. We have said that we'll not freeze the situation, but we'll adopt every measure possible, every peaceful measure, to get the disputes settled. It is an offer which our Government has made to Pakistan, and I hope the people of Pakistan—with whom we have so much in common, culturally, historically, ethnically—will appreciate this thing and they will try to come to a settlement on this preliminary and then have a discussion on the problems.

We want to get on with them. We want Pakistan to prosper and progress. Our interests are bound up with the well-being of Pakistan. We have so much in common with them, but it is an irritating thing for many of us, an agonizing thing, that there should be this misunderstanding between our two countries. It is our anxiety to close up this rift as soon as possible, to settle down for a peaceful co-operation with our friendly neighbour, Pakistan. That is what we want to do.

There are so many other problems in India, but it is not for me to discuss all of them. But I am glad to have had this opportunity of speaking to you a few words.

WHAT SUSTAINS THE INDIAN PEOPLE

Mr President, friends : I did not come here to make a speech. I was told it was a reception. But now that your President has asked me to say a few words I may say that I, an ordinary commoner, started as a teacher and worked almost the whole of my life as a teacher. That I should have been elected Vice-President and President of my country shows how democratic our Constitution is and how it has given opportunities to all the people, not merely to political workers, to rise into some prominence and serve the country to the best of their ability. When you think of the country which is nearly 450 million strong, professing different religions, speaking different languages, and with different stages of development, all bound together in unity with the sense of belonging to one home, think of it all and compare that achievement with what is happening in neighbouring States and other

Speech at a reception held at the Royal Commonwealth Society, London, 13 June, 1963

parts of the world, and you will see that it is not a mean achievement. There has been administrative continuity, political stability, and even the crisis we had recently, which was a challenge thrown down to us, even that has not disturbed the smooth working of democratic institutions in our country.

One of the things in which we take special pride in India is the peaceful co-operation of the different religions there. You find Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jews, Parsees, and all their sub-sects, but they work together as citizens of a whole. Only when political considerations interfere do religious distinctions acquire some prominence. Otherwise it has been a country where all religions are welcomed, not merely, tolerated, and they are appreciated by the practitioners of other religions. There has been a great emphasis in the country on the character of religion—religion as a personal encounter of an individual with the Supreme, and not merely doctrinal conformity or ceremonial piety. Some people may be religious at second-hand, but those who are authentically religious are individuals who have been able to know something, to feel the ultimate mystery which transforms their lives and works in them as a cleansing fire, something which takes away all the baser passions of their nature. Such individuals are very rare and it is not possible for you to have too many of them. Because we thought that religion was a kind of personal insight into the ultimate reality, we never laid much stress, exclusive stress, on any particular way of approaching the Supreme or calling the Supreme. The ways may twist and turn but when once you reach the top the spiritual landscape which you discern is exactly the same. All those who by different routes have come up to the top are the people who belong to one family. We may belong to this particular denomination or other, but if we are truly religious we will not quarrel about names we give to the Supreme or the ways by which we reach the Supreme. This is a thing that came down to us from the early period. Aśoka cut into the rock and he said :

"Do not quarrel about religions, concord is meritorious. Do not imagine that you have a complete hold on truth. You may not have it, no religion has a monopoly of truth; you must try to know the God above all Gods who is expressed in different ways and different individuals."

That is how we put it, with the result that our Constitution regularized it. As pointed out to us every citizen of India has the liberty to profess, practise and propagate his religion so long as he does not injure the convictions of other people.

The same sort of thing happened when we took up the question of language. We have fourteen different languages. Only recently we had passed legislation in the Central Legislature making Hindi the official language of the country and giving English a place as an alter-

native official language which could be used for an indefinite period. That has brought about some kind of harmony in the country.

Then the parliamentary processes, practices and procedures which you will observe in our parliament or legislatures will remind you of what happens in this country. We have taken them all over and whenever we are in difficulties we turn to May's *Parliamentary Practice* to solve our difficulties. We thus follow the same sort of procedure as you do.

During the recent crisis we have had, our people, irrespective of their political parties, whether they were members of the Congress Party or the Communist Party or the Swatantra or the Jan Śangh, all came forward and said, "So far as India's security and territorial integrity are concerned we are prepared to do everything in our power." And the basis of all these things is faith in the integrity of the human being; the faith which calls on us to give every human being an opportunity for his bodily welfare, for his mental alertness. We want to give everyone the opportunity to feed himself, to clothe himself, shelter himself. We wish to provide these opportunities, so we call it a "Welfare State." But the most important point which we believe is that the individual should not be sacrificed for any group or organization. The individual may give himself or refuse to give himself, but he should not sell himself or lend himself for purposes which do not appeal to his conscience. That is what we mean when we say that for the sanctity of the human individual we may have to sacrifice so many comforts, etc. It is that opportunity which we wish to provide for all our citizens.

The greatest problem which we have been facing is the problem of hunger, of unemployment, things like that. We have done a great deal in this direction, but please do not imagine we are anywhere near the goal of fulfilling our ideals. They are still distant; we are aiming at them. We had never had, for example, anything like the famine which we had in 1943. When our circumstances became difficult, we begged, we borrowed, we bought, we rationed, we did whatever was possible for us and tried to see that nobody died of sheer hunger or starvation. If such a thing had happened there would have been an uproar in the Parliament, and we are afraid of Parliament—as you are, I suppose—and the country's stability would have been shaken and undermined. There are certain things that are essential for the stability of the country—wise leadership, the leaders being those who dedicate themselves completely to the well-being of the community and have administrative integrity. If there is corruption in high places, if people cannot be trusted, if the aid which we get from other countries is misspent, misused, then that means that people lose faith. Social upheavals are generally caused if there are dissensions amongst the leaders and corruption in administration. If you wish to avoid any kind of upheaval you

must try to preserve integrity of your administration. You must try to see that those who come to the top are disinterested, dedicated servants, who have nothing else in their lives to look for except the well-being of the community to which they are appointed.

Economic misery—if you have economic misery you cannot have any sort of moral insight or spiritual development. If people are dying like flies what is it that you can have—nothing very much. Wherever revolutions have occurred in this world, I have noticed, they are all due to these things. Look at what happened in the Soviet Revolution—an absolutist government, which threw all people into the depths, a corrupt church, defeat on all sides, economic distress, people dying like flies. And people thought—anything for a change. These are not conditions that could be tolerated at all. Other revolutions, Chinese, Egyptian, wherever you have them you will see there selfish leadership, dishonest administration, economic distress, lack of a national purpose. With such a state of affairs, you will never get a satisfactory society. It will be always unstable, if we are afraid of what is going to happen to us. Our people have common sense, they have some fundamental faith, and if they believe that you care for things like individual dignity and human fellowship, you may be sure that you will be trusted and your country will be stable.

We have been able to maintain the stability and cohesion of our country because we have given them a purpose, and we have had magnificent leadership and, as far as possible, an honest administration. If there is any dishonesty there is such an uproar; we all raise our voices and we all say that this must be put an end to. You cannot have wide disparities of wealth and poverty—so many people living luxurious lives and others living in mud huts.

This sort of thing is a painful reality which touches the conscience of every decent thinking man. If a person has any element of compassion, any conscience, he cannot stand this wide distance separating the illustrious few from the millions of people who suffer. Well, these are things which we are trying, to the best of our ability, to inculcate into our ordinary human beings. We wish to give them courage, compassion, dignity; we want to make them feel that we are born into this world to love and to create, not to hate and to destroy. If we are able to give this sense, make them feel that the country has been there for four five millennia, there must have been some vitality to sustain this country in spite of all the attacks which we have had throughout the centuries. That we are still alive, still vital, still looking forward, still dissatisfied with our present, still not merely adoring the past, but looking forward to the future. So long as we have this kind of impulse in our minds, the future of our country, of every

country for that matter, is safe. And we should try our best to help one another. It is no use merely criticizing other countries. Every country has its skeleton in its cupboard. There is no country which is free from all blemishes and all mistakes. Our attempts should be to find out what our deficiencies are and not merely look at the other man's deficiencies. Look within yourself to try to get rid of the insufficiencies from which you happen to suffer. If you are able to do that you will push your country forward. Leadership really consists of anticipating the future, in forestalling events, in trying to find out how revolutions have come about, and to avoid them if you can. If you have prepared the conditions for a revolution you will get it. If you are trying to get rid of these things let us have done with it. Our country is passing through a very exciting period, but it is a peaceful revolution; we have the confidence of our people. When any elections take place we will always see that the people concerned are all more or less sensible.

Once upon a time I was asked how much it cost me to become the Vice-President of my country, by another Vice-President of a great nation. I told him it cost me 10 dollars. "What?" he exclaimed. I told him because when I was put up for the Vice-Presidentship it was discovered that my name was not on the Voters List and I had to pay a penalty of 50 rupees to get the name inserted and that is all that my Vice-Presidency election cost me! In other words, there was no other candidate and we got through. There was no campaigning on my side, I never asked for the support of one man. There were two candidates that were put up because they came to me and told me that they wanted to show it was a democratic election; and the result was my 80,000 votes and the two others got 10,000 votes.

It gives you an idea of how the country is getting accustomed to proper democratic processes, and so far as public relations and foreign relations are concerned we are doing our utmost to develop an attitude of international sobriety. Never get lost in the temporary things, never meet crises as they come, but have a long, strategic plan, by which you will be able to help yourself, and help other people also.

As I said, I came with no intention of speaking here but I have spoken a lot, forgive me.

THE INDIAN FLAG

LORD Provost, Magistrates and Council Members: I am very thankful to you for the gift you have made, which will be kept in our residence, reminding me and other people who come there of my visit to this place and your good wishes. You spoke about our two countries having some common bonds in being mystic. Your motto, I understand, is "Unless the Lord build the house, they build in vain who labour for it." In other words, you are assuming that man's achievements must have the blessing of Providence, his efforts must be blessed if they are to be successful. Meantime you have saved me a lot of inconvenience by asking me to speak about the flag.

The flag, I may tell you, is a symbol not merely of India but of the whole of humanity. It is a flag which describes the different aspects of the life of the country and the people of the world. You see in the middle a blue circle, the wheel of time, symbolized by the colour of the sky or the sea, which is a cosmic process. The wheel goes on. But is that all? If time were all it would be all devouring, nothing would remain. Death would be the end of all existence and annihilation would face us. So people would think there is no meaning in this world, no purpose for our existence. We are asked, does not this cosmic process symbolized by the sea and the sky, which are blue, does is not indicate that it is not self-maintaining, self-sustaining, but that it depends upon some eternal background? You put at the back of it the white, that Shelley calls the white radiance of eternity. There must be something on which this temporal process rests. Time is not all. There is another side to our existence and that is the eternal side. So, whereas one is given the blue colour, the cosmic colour, the sea and the sky, the other is given the pure white to point out that those who wish to describe the eternal by concepts of words do injustice to the immensity of that mystery. They are not in a position to give an exhaustive expression of what that eternal background is. The homage which the finite mind can pay to the infinite is to say—you are indescribable, incomprehensible. So the colourless, or the pure white, is the thing which is given there. Time, therefore, is not all. If it were all, death would be the end of it all. We ask a question, whether we cannot escape from the tyranny of time, whether we cannot escape from death, whether there is not some way by which we can get away from this process which is a perpetual procession of events, which is called *saṁsāra* in our country? You call it time. Well, we live in time, and we know there is the eternal. How can human beings live in the process of time with the prospect of

Speech at civic luncheon, Edinburgh, 14 June, 1963

the eternal? How is it possible for them to have both these poles in their hands?

You must have the two ends to the whole thing, the temporal end and the eternal end. That means discipline, re-making of yourself, transformation of your nature, burning of your lower passions. That is what is necessary. The colour of fire which consumes all evil, all things which are base in our character—that has been from the beginning of our history taken as a symbol of this process of suffering and discipline. Our monks, our ascetics put on that colour—robes of that orange colour. It is the colour of fire. Buddha wore it, his disciples even today wear it. So when you find this orange at the top, it is the symbol of the process through which each individual has to pass if he is enabled to live in the world of time with the perspective of the eternal.

So we have put that at the top. What is it all for? You undergo suffering, you discipline yourselves, you lacerate yourselves and pass through monasteries and try to bring some kind of transformation in your nature. Is it the end? This suffering and discipline, are they to be regarded as the ends of life? No. We are to build a green paradise on earth. Green is the colour of life, the colour of vegetation, the colour of all growth. We indicate it that way.

So in this flag which is not peculiarly Indian in any sense of the terms I have explained to you, you have time, you have eternity, you have discipline, you have the constructive work of building a paradise on earth. All this you have to pass through for the purpose of establishing a human sanctity where love and justice reign: where we are we are bound together by peace and concord. That must be regarded as the end. We cannot do it if we are locked in the procession of time. We can do it if we understand: unless the Lord build the house, we build in vain. All this is symbolized by the flag.

Time, eternity, discipline, creative life—you have it, Sir. It is a flag for the whole of humanity. It is a flag which anybody who thinks about it can accept and understand. I hope, in this your city, where you are all proud of what you have done here, where you have an excellent motto, you work with the one disinterested idea of making this city beautiful, attractive, human and humane.

THE NEW FACE OF INDIA

FRIENDS: it gives me great pleasure to say a few words on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of our Independence Day.

From the time we attained Independence, we have looked upon political freedom as the essential instrument for raising the economic and social standards of our people. We have tried to establish new standards and values and give a new face to our country. The extent of our achievement is a matter of history.

We have yet to go a long way to the achievement of our goal. There are still relics of feudalism where so much is surrendered by so many to so few. These relics require to be removed as speedily as possible if we are to build up a social and economic democracy.

What is called the revolution of rising expectations, if not carried out successfully, gives rise to frustration, cynicism and despair, which are not healthy for any society. Our basic policies, however, have been aimed at reconstructing our society so as to give no chance to these unhealthy trends. By applying modern methods of science and technology to agriculture and industry we have been striving to increase agricultural production and industrial output, build roads, schools, technical colleges and universities and to step up housing schemes and medical facilities.

In our country 70 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture and allied pursuits and 80 per cent of export earnings come from agricultural produce; but agriculture does not expand rapidly. We have tried by different means to increase our agricultural output and in the Third Five Year Plan we aim at attaining self-sufficiency in foodgrains. This self-sufficiency can be achieved not by shouting slogans, but by very determined efforts on the part of our people.

Fertilizers, better seeds and the adoption of modern implements are the only ways by which the output can be raised. This depends on wise leadership and administrative efficiency.

On the industrial side, we have been trying to increase our industrial output through the development not only of major industries but of small industries in rural areas. But delays and difficulties have appeared in transport, coal, power and steel. With regard to transport and coal, conditions are now much better and are likely to improve in the near future. We are making strenuous efforts to overcome the short supply of power. If the Bokaro Project is put through, the steel position will improve.

On the social side, we are attempting to spread education—scientific and technical. If we are to adjust ourselves to the rhythm of the new

Message to the Nation for Independence Day, 14 August, 1963

world, our people should adopt a rational and scientific outlook in matters of health, sanitation, etc. In schools and colleges, as well as in self-governing institutions, we have to develop a sense of decency in public affairs. Unfortunately, at the present moment we have factional strife, personal rivalries, pressure groups and scrambles for power, which impede the development of a national ethos. It is our earnest hope that our people will subordinate their personal interests and group loyalties to the strengthening of the moral fibre of the nation.

We do not wish our economic, social and educational programmes to be impeded by the imperative need to strengthen our defences. We are attempting to meet by higher taxation and austerity measures the increased defence expenditure. We have to pay for civilization as well as for defence. Defence, I hope, will not be a permanent problem.

It is unfortunate that our relations with China are still strained. It is our earnest desire to have these and our differences with Pakistan settled in an atmosphere of peace, goodwill and friendship. The threats posed to us at this stage should not deter us from pursuing the path of peace.

It is not our ambition to compete with China by raising large armies, but we wish to have enough strength to resist attack and defend our frontiers.

In a situation like the present one, our people should work together with unity and purposefulness. The ugly scenes that we sometimes see in legislative chambers and public meetings do not bring credit to us, and I hope very much that such things will be avoided. Strong conviction need not result in rude behaviour.

In the international field it is our purpose to work for a fellowship of free nations where each nation will have the opportunity to contribute its best in art, literature, science and scholarship.

There is a temptation for each nation to look upon itself as the very centre of the solar system and to believe that "there is no nation like ours—*na bhārata samaṁ deśaṁ.*" Such ideas have to be discarded in the present world context.

In human history nations have come into being in order to meet certain needs which are not to be regarded as permanent. A number of independent sovereign States, each closed and hostile and ignorant of what is outside itself, does not correspond to the needs of the new world. It is tragic blindness that hides from us the patent fact that we are all members of the human family. It has to be sustained by the innumerable ties that bind the nations. We should discard the heresy of nationalist separateness.

Victory in a thermo-nuclear war has become idiotic and absurd. The Test Ban Agreement is a modest beginning in the process of bringing about a reconciliation between the communist and the

non-communist worlds. It is the first agreement reached on arms control after nearly 18 years. The plans for the exploration of outer space reached by the United States and the Soviet Union are another illustration of co-operation. If this co-operation is pursued in the realm of fighting the natural scourges which afflict humanity, we may move forward towards the distant goal of one world. The call of our age is to accept love as the law of life in both national and international spheres.

There is nothing inevitable with regard to our national or international efforts, about poverty or unemployment, or national coherence, or even disarmament. Man, when truly human, is not merely the product of history, but is the moulder of history. What is called the contingency or unforeseeability of history is due to the freewill of the human being. He is not a victim of necessity—naturalistic, historical or dialectical. He uses this necessity as a means for achieving freedom. Our hope for the future lies in the wise choice which the leaders of the world will make in the present context.

If we put forth determined efforts, we can overcome these evils which afflict our country and transform it into a modern civilized State where people work in a co-operative way and build up our country.

There is hardly anyone who is guiltless of wrong-doing. Let us forget small things and give our best to the great cause of building up a new India—*nava bhārata*. Let us renew our resolve today to work with determination and earnestness for this sacred cause.

THE TRUE DEMOCRAT

FRIENDS : I extend to you all a most cordial welcome to this annual Conference of Governors.

Since we met last, Shri Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri has retired from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Himachal Pradesh. Shri Sivasankar relinquished his office at Goa. We are grateful to them for their valuable services and wish to convey to them our good wishes for their future.

We welcome Shri Bhagwan Sahay and Shri Sachdev in their respective offices on which they have entered recently. We are glad to extend a welcome to Shri Silam, who is representing Pondicherry for the first time at this Conference. His Highness the Maharaja, the Governor of Mysore, has expressed his regret for not being able to

Inaugural Address at the Conference of Governors, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 31 October, 1963

attend this Conference. We are sorry that Shri Mehdi Nawaz Jung, Governor of Gujarat, is unable to be present here on account of illness. We wish him a speedy recovery. We are glad to see Shri Chainani amongst us this year again in place of Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, who is now representing India at the United Nations.

In October last the Chinese armies entered upon our territory. We have had to resist the aggression and I am sure that you will join with me in paying tribute to the bravery of our fighting forces. This event has obliged us to strengthen our defences to meet the Chinese challenge. It is obvious that we cannot afford to gamble with our national security and the integrity of our realm. Steps are, therefore, being taken to expand our armed forces, to increase the production of our ordnance factories and to set up new ones to meet the needs of our forces in modern arms and equipment. Friendly nations like the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom have rendered us valuable assistance. We are grateful to the Soviet Union for its sympathy, support and assistance. But you will agree that though we have been receiving help from friendly countries, we have to build up our own defence strength in order to meet any possible threat to our national security. We have to do it without impeding, in any way, the agricultural and industrial development of the country. National defence and industrial development are bound together and our attempt has been to realize both the objectives of a steady industrial expansion and growing national security. True democracy should mean not merely votes for all, but food, clothing, shelter and work for all. Through planned development we are striving to realize this goal.

We are now half way through the Third Five Year Plan. The progress in the initial years has been somewhat slow. The rate of progress of our economy is reflected in the low national income which in 1961-62 recorded an increase of only 2.1 per cent against the increase of 7.1 per cent in the previous year and the increase of 5 per cent per annum assumed in the Third Plan. The largest single factor for this tardy expansion of national income is the failure of agricultural production to maintain the rate of growth otherwise expected. Owing to unfavourable weather conditions, agricultural output in the first two years of the Plan has been stationary at the level reached in 1960-61. Central teams of agricultural production programme which had visited the States found several factors impeding production, such as the low priority given to agriculture, inadequacy of the Plan provision and the diversion of funds to other programmes. Lack of administrative co-ordination was also found to be a contributory cause.

An extra allocation of Rs 21 crores, over and above the amounts provided in the States' plan for 1963-64, is being made available as accelerated assistance to agricultural production. The Community

Development Block budget has been reoriented with a view to concentrating on agricultural development programme.

In order to speed up the utilization of the irrigation potential of large and medium irrigation projects, the Planning Commission has recently drawn the attention of the State Governments to the need for taking up all complementary measures such as the digging of field channels, credit, supplies, etc., in each area benefited by an irrigation project.

The situation has been particularly difficult in regard to the production of rice, which suffered a set-back in 1962-63. I am informed that the total rice production was less by nearly two million tons compared with 1961-62. Rice-consumers constitute about 40 per cent of the country's population and the recent rise in the price of rice, particularly in the eastern parts of the country, has indeed been causing considerable hardship. Various measures have been adopted by the Central and State Governments to deal with the rise in the price of rice; for example, by distributing Government stocks through fair price shops, by arranging to augment rice stocks in deficit areas by imports from other parts of the country and by checking black-marketing and other unfair practices by recourse to the Essential Commodities Act and the Defence of India Rules. I do hope that all these measures will help in relieving the situation to some extent. We have lately heard with much concern about food riots in some parts of Calcutta. Hunger drives people mad and you cannot control hungry people by resort to force. Even if there is an over-all shortage of supplies, people will not take the law into their hands if they are convinced that the shortage affects all layers of society equally and that the authorities are determined to deal ruthlessly with profiteering and black-marketing. Fortunately, the wholesale prices of wheat in almost all the important wheat-producing and wheat-consuming areas and the wholesale price of *jowar* and other foodgrains have been lower than they were last year. With regard to the food situation, the only effective remedy against the shortages and rise in price is to increase effectively agricultural production in the country. And this must receive the highest priority from all connected with planning and its implementation.

Industrial production in the country increased by 6.6 per cent in 1961-62 and about 8 per cent in 1962-63. The rate of growth is not commensurate with the target increase over the Five Year Plan period. A number of factors are responsible for the recent slowing down in the pace of industrial output. Some industries, such as the production of coal, have been adversely affected by the slackness in the growth of industrial output elsewhere. The cotton textile industry has been facing rather a sluggish home demand while capacity limitation

has been responsible for retarding increased production in industries such as jute and textiles.

Nevertheless, the progress achieved in the development of new industries producing capital goods and basic tools has been very much higher than what is indicated in the general index; and the industrial base in the country is now stronger and more diversified than before.

The success achieved in the last two years in overcoming the bottlenecks in power, transport and coal warrants a measure of optimism for better performance in the industrial sector in the coming years.

In order to mitigate the shortage of power felt in various sectors, steps were taken to implement the schemes included in the Plan. It would, however, be necessary to discourage non-essential loads and give high priority to defence and other essential industries.

Forty-five rural industries projects have been taken up in selected areas in different States so that techniques and methods could be evolved and extended progressively to other areas which have a large incidence of unemployment and under-employment. Rapid surveys of 39 projects areas have already been completed, and development programmes are being formulated in the light of the reports.

Though our achievements during the past years are by no means negligible, industrial and agricultural development will have to be viewed in the context of a fast-increasing population. The Government and the agencies concerned are giving their thought to this very important question.

We are attempting to establish in this country social justice and equality of opportunity for all citizens for a better life and the pursuit of happiness. These conditions cannot be achieved without varying degrees of social control. We are, however, committed to realizing our objectives through democratic processes, by persuasion, argument and peaceful change of opinion. It should be remembered that our primary objectives of realizing social justice and social security cannot be realized if we cling to the concepts and ways of the Middle Ages. The ideals of social justice and social security are incompatible with the preservation of privileges, immunities and inhibitions that belong to a vanished past. Freedom and democracy will be divested of all their significance if the weaker sections of the community, condemned for ages to a life of want, privation and insecurity, are not given the chance of leading a better and fuller life. There are three spectres that haunt the minds of the poor—unemployment, sickness and old age. It should be the endeavour of a progressive State to banish these fears from the mind of the common man. The results cannot be achieved unless there is a spirit of dedicated service in the people who are running our public institutions. So long as our public life is polluted with sectionalism, the desire for personal aggrandizement, spite and vendetta,



Addressing the Citizens' Central Council, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 18 December, 1962

Arriving in procession at Parliament House to address the joint session of the two Houses, 18 February, 1963





Speaking at New York University after receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws, June 11, 1963

the ideals which we hold dear cannot be realized. We must develop a sense of discipline, the capacity to subordinate our personal predilections and interests to the paramount needs of the common weal.

Democracy means a temper of mind, a sense of humility. We are sometimes tempted to think that we are as good as others, if not better. The real question is whether we are as good as we ought to be. A true democrat must subject himself to frequent self-examination. It is only such self-scrutiny that will make us avoid a sense of infallibility and vanity, which are utterly inconsistent with the democratic spirit and mood. The Sanskrit word *vinaya* means both humility and discipline. In the ultimate analysis that which can keep a democracy healthy and growing is a strong, instructed and enlightened public opinion. Only then will it be possible to fight corruption, maladministration and inefficiency. Those who work in the Council of Ministers, or the administration, or the management of large-scale industries, should not adopt narrow, obstinate and imperious ways; they should identify themselves with the larger purposes of the State and endow the people with a sense of pride and participation in the great cause of building up the future of this country. A strong, able and incorruptible administrative service forms the very keystone of our whole structure. Any unnecessary or unreasonable interference with the service is bound to weaken them and create a neurotic atmosphere where no one knows what is expected of him or her. Unfortunately, charges of corruption are bandied about against some of our public men and officials. These charges may be exaggerated but the fact that they are made at all is a political reality with which we have to reckon.

We are today witnessing alarming indiscipline in some schools, colleges and universities. This is an unfortunate situation which causes no inconsiderable amount of anxiety. We are embarking upon great enterprises and projects, investing large amounts in steel and cement, in brick and mortar. We should remember that the enduring and the most vital factor on which we can build the future of this country is its youth. If the boys and girls who go to our educational institutions and colleges fall victims to fugitive moods of ill-temper, neglect their studies and miss the primary purposes on which they should be engaged, the situation is one that calls for a well co-ordinated and sustained effort for redress.

When we talk of socialism, we mean socialism of an ethical character. It is an attitude of mind, a pattern of behaviour, a way of life. In this socialist pattern of society, the individual should subordinate his self-interest to the national welfare. A new type of being who has developed an ethical sense is essential for the socialist reconstruction of our society.

It is well to recall the words uttered by Gandhiji in 1925 about the

seven sins which afflict our society. They are: politics without principle, wealth without work, pleasure without conscience, knowledge without character, commerce without morality, science without humanity, and worship without sacrifice.

The Prime Minister will speak to us about the international situation. I may, however, refer briefly to one or two important developments.

The signing of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty between the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom, and now assented to by almost all the countries of the world except China, France and Albania, is an event of great significance. It has certainly resulted in a relaxed international atmosphere, and I trust that the world will now move forward to total disarmament and world peace.

As regards our relations with China, I regret to say that the Chinese Government have not yet accepted the Colombo proposals in their entirety. It is my earnest hope that they will be persuaded to accept the proposals and thus open the door for negotiations with a view to the restoration of peace and concord between our two countries.

Our efforts to restore normalcy in our relations with Pakistan have not so far yielded the expected results. We should not, however, lose hope. We should persist in our attempt to bring about an equitable and honourable settlement of the outstanding differences between our two countries. We wish to be friendly with Pakistan as we have many close and intimate relations with that country. But we cannot barter away our honour or self-respect or territorial integrity.

May I close with expressing the hope that to the extent to which it is possible, you will advance the great causes that we have at heart and that the paramount needs of the public are not allowed to suffer defeat or delay. Things do not improve of their own accord. We have to exert our utmost to build up our future: *kuru pauruṣam ātmaśaktyā.*

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

SPIRITUAL HARMONY

Friends : this is not the first time that I happen to be here to pay homage to the greatness of Hazrat Khwaja Nizamuddin. We all aim at attaining some of the saintliness or holiness that constitutes the fulfilment of human nature. The evolution of this cosmic process has passed through different stages—minerals, plants, animals, man, and God-men or saints. Most of us are in the incomplete and imperfect stage of having attained intellectual power without any accompanying wisdom. We must try to grow from the present state of intellectuality to one of illumination and wisdom through the discipline associated with religion.

Saintliness or holiness is a quality on the achievement of which the human being is able to resolve his conflict with himself, with others and with the Supreme. By persistent discipline and effort, we try to introduce some kind of harmony within our own nature. By developing an attitude of friendliness and compassion to other human beings, we try to achieve harmony with our fellow men. By prayer and meditation we try to strengthen and purify our being and establish some kind of communion with the Supreme Reality.

We are born not merely to grow like trees and amass vast material possessions but to perfect our own nature and attain something of the divine status. Such God-men, such saints, such holy sages have the whole world as their jurisdiction. They look with equal vision, with *samadṛṣṭi* on all people, to whatever creeds and denominations the latter may happen to belong. They have risen above group rivalries and the dissensions which poison our society and make it the nightmare that it is at present. They believe and proclaim, "We do not belong to the church of Christ or Buddha, but we belong to the Universal Spirit or God." Therefore, they look upon all believers as belonging to the one household of God :

mandira masjid tere dhām
Īśvara allāh tere nām

I do hope that when people leave this place, they will go with a purified vision and that they will look upon all fellow beings as their kindred, as members belonging to the one family of the Supreme.

Speech at the 657th *Urs* of Hazrat Khwaja Nizamuddin Aulia, at Dargah-i-Markaz, New Delhi, 17 September, 1962

RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

FRIENDS : I have been attending this function for several years past and this time also I happen to be here to pay my homage to that great soul, Guru Nānak Dev, for the lessons he has taught us in religion and social reform.

At a time when religion was confused with ceremonial piety or dogmatic conformity or petty ritualism, he made out that true religion was a transformation of one's soul. It is the lifting up of one's consciousness to a higher level. When he talked about *guruvāṇī,* he meant by it the voice of the Divine which we can all hear when our consciousness is illumined. So long as we remain at the intellectual level, discussing and arguing, we are on the threshold; but we enter and touch the plane of the voice of the Divine when our consciousness itself is lifted to a higher pedestal. What is meant by the voice of the Divine is something to which we listen in our inspired and exalted moments.

An early Upaniṣad tells us that two things are essential for spiritual realization—the grace of God and the *prabhāva* or value of *tapas* (or effort). Individual effort and Divine grace, both of them combine before we become religious souls.

Many of us think that we are religious, but we are really atheists in the sense that we worship the world, power and the devil. These are the things which attract our notice and capture our consciousness. A truly religious man is one who is devoid of any sense of egoism, of any passion, of any hatred, of any ill will. Even when you are fighting, you are expected to fight without hatred. It is not true to say that we cannot fight unless we hate the enemy. It is possible for us to do our duty even in fighting without ill will or without any kind of hatred.

Another thing which Guru Nānak taught us is : truth is high, but there is something higher—good conduct. It is higher than merely proclaiming truth. Truth must be announced by your life. Your life itself must be a revelation of what you are. You must not be merely a hearer of the word. You must be a doer of the word. If you are able to do it, then it is that you are a true follower of Guru Nānak. He tells us that the social disabilities, the impediments which we have put in the way of people towards their greater fulfilment, are man-made. They are not divinely ordained. Caste discrimination, social ostracism, the subjection of women—all these things should be regarded as irreligious, anti-religious. Any man who is truly religious will not look upon these as divinely ordained.

God has no favourites. God has no foes. He treats all as equal.

Speech at Guru Nānak's birthday celebrations, New Delhi, 10 November, 1962

There cannot be any discrimination for a religious man between one man and another.

So if today we talk about freedom, democracy and social welfare, these are the legitimate consequences of the truly religious spirit. No man who is not a democrat, no man who does not honour freedom, no man who does not work for social welfare and human well-being, can call himself a truly religious soul. So these ideals of democracy, freedom and social welfare are bound up with the true spirit of religion. If we want to be truly religious, we must practise these things in our daily lives.

Guru Nānak Dev never distinguished between one religion and another : "I am neither a Hindu nor a Muslim : I am a worshipper of the Formless." This was what he proclaimed. Any man who raises himself to that exalted mood of communion with the Divine will feel the inexhaustibility of the Divine. By describing what he experienced in faltering words or logical sequences, he will feel that all these are imperfect ways of describing the one Ultimate which is a mystery. The moment you reduce mystery to logical form, the mystery disappears.

Let us realize that the Supreme is mysterious, is something which cannot be expressed in words or propositions; and if we quarrel about words, about dogmas, about propositions, it only means that we have not grasped the mystery of Godhead.

This country for some years past has been leading a kind of soft, complacent life, spending its time on trivialities, in the pursuit of power, position, office, wealth, etc. A shake-up was necessary : a stirring up of this giant soul of India was essential, and we have had this in the present conflict with China. Punjab, the homeland of the Sikhs—though they are to be found in all parts of the country—has offered to give twenty lakhs of recruits for war service. I have received an amount collected by you for the service of the jawans. I had the honour of meeting two to three thousand of them the other day. It was marvellous to see them. Their one demand was : "Give us the tools, we will rid this country of the invader. Give us the tools, the equipment, the machines and the other things necessary for any fight."

But the one thing I wish to warn you against is that whatever work we may undertake, whatever we may do, let us not lose our souls, let us not fill our minds with ill will and hatred. The *Gītā* tells us : "Think of Me and fight. Think of Me, the Universal Spirit, which pervades every human creature. Think that I am there dwelling not only in you but even among your enemies—I am there—but do your duty thinking of Me." "Think of Me and then fight" : in other words, He asks us to be filled with the spirit of brotherhood, compassion, even when we undertake tasks which are repugnant to any kind of civilized being.

It is good for us to remind ourselves on occasions of the great teachings which our prophets have taught us. Let us remember them. It is no use attending meetings and going back and getting into the routine and rut of our everyday life. Let us make up our minds that we will live for some purpose, a purpose which uplifts us, which ennobles us.

THE MESSAGE OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

I AM very delighted to be here this evening and inaugurate the Birth Centenary celebrations of Swami Vivekananda. The city of Calcutta has produced many men of genius in education, science, literature, and spiritual endeavour, and the greatest of the last is Swami Vivekananda. He embodied the spirit of this country; he was a symbol of her spiritual aspirations and fulfilment. It is that spirit which was expressed in the songs of our devotees, the philosophies of our seers, the prayers of our common people. He gave articulation and voice to that eternal spirit of India.

Many of us are content to look upon the greatness which he achieved. But it is more interesting to know the way by which he attained that greatness, the hard difficulties which he had to encounter and surmount, the exercises which he had to undertake, the way in which he transmuted his intractable nature to the purpose of the Divine. That, also, has some interest to the pilgrims, to the stragglers, to workers who wish to attain some kind of lesson in spiritual life.

He was born here, educated in one of the institutions here, studied the works which were popular in his time—the works of John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, David Hume—, was disturbed in his mind, tried to discover the way to Truth, went hither and thither, was tossed about till at last he met Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa. The impact of his personality, the sincerity of his conviction, his passionate love of God effected a remarkable change in the life and work of Swami Vivekananda. When he was disputing with philosophers and dialecticians, when he was attending many *samājas* which professed to declare Truth, he went to him and asked, "Have you seen God ?" And the answer came : "Yes, I have seen Him even as I see you, only more clearly, more intensely." He was not arguing, he was not guessing, he spoke from his personal experience and declared that he felt the reality of God in his own life, in the pulse of his being, and was face to face

Inaugural speech, Swami Vivekananda Birth Centenary celebrations, Calcutta, 20 January, 1963

with Him almost all his life. That caused a profound change in the life of Swami Vivekananda. It is the tradition of our country that religion does not consist in arguments and speculations : *na medhayā na bahunā śrutena*—not by brain power or study of many texts; but we have to see the Supreme face to face. The Ṛg Veda tells us : *tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ. Paśyanti,* they see constantly the highest dwelling place of the Divine. So says the Upaniṣad : *vedāhametaṁ puruṣaṁ mahāntam ādityavarṇaṁ tamasaḥ parastāt.* Do not be deluded by the glamour of this world, by the darkness of this world, beyond it is a Deity. He is the Supreme. It is something which is to be felt, which is to be realized, which is to be experienced. That is the lesson of India.

India never counted on dogmas and doctrines. They were instruments, they were the means for the purpose of realizing the highest kind of truth. It is true that the Divine is in each of us, but the splendour is imprisoned. There are so many opaque things shutting it out from expression, from manifestation. It requires a good deal of spiritual meditation and austerity, if you wish to manifest the Divine which is in you. Therefore, it costs a great deal. Religion is not a thing which we can acquire by simply reading books. It is a thing which can be acquired by the wastage of your whole nature, by going through enormous difficulties and transforming yourself. He passed through all that, and attained to the sensing of the mystery of this world.

When once you recognize that the Reality is something to be felt, something to be experienced, you do not attach so much importance to the ways by which you attain it. They become subordinate. They become instrumental. And in that great utterance of his in September, 1893, in the Chicago "Parliament of Religions," what he said was that there is God above all gods, that there is a religion above all religions, that there is something which supersedes all our religiosities, all our pieties, rituals, dogmas and doctrines, and that that is the religion on the basis of which the whole world, East and West, could be united.

He quoted that famous verse of the *Bhagavadgītā* to that audience : *ye yathā māṁ prapadyante tāṁstathaiva bhajāmyahaṁ, mama vartmā nuvartante manuṣyāḥ pārtha sarvaśaḥ :* even as men approach Me, so do I accept them : all men are trying to seek Me, to find Me, and therefore, I do not make any difference between the pathways and the addresses and the approaches adopted by them; I know their seeking, their earnest endeavour, the way in which they are passing through turmoil to reach the Supreme; therefore, it matters little to Me by which way they attain Me. Swami Vivekananda declared this in the "Parliament of Religions," the voice of eternal India, the voice of universal religion, the voice which says that there is one God above all gods. *Devānām adideva ekaḥ,* says the Ṛg Veda. And the same scripture tells

us that there are many ways in which that Reality is described by human beings. It is, therefore, essential for us to be tolerant, to be understanding. At a time when our country was lost in dogmatic controversies, when religious people fought with one another, became sectarian, became dogmatic, became exclusive, he emphasized that you do not know what the ultimate Truth is. You must get rid of all these prejudices and prepossessions and believe that the one Universal God belongs to all religions, is found in all religions, and that everyone is trying to seek the pathway to that Eternal Supreme.

As in the life of the Buddha, there was in the life of Swami Vivekananda a moment when he thought that he should lose himself in the delights of inner life, in the delights of contemplation and not get back into the world. But Sri Ramakrishna told him : "Shame on you ! Why are you trying so much to seek your own personal salvation ?" *Śivamātmani paśyanti,* the Supreme is in every human being. All these are to be regarded as embodiments of the Supreme. We should realize that the name given to him, Narendra Nath, was not a mere accident. He was the embodiment of *nara,* of human beings. *Nārāyaṇaṁ narasakhaṁ śaraṇaṁ prapadye. Narasakha* is *Nārāyaṇa.* He felt the pangs of all human beings, and he wanted that every human being should live, lead a decent life. Most of us exist, but do not live. He wanted every one of us to acquire strength, beauty, power, dignity and be truly a human being. We are not that. He looked at the misery of our country. He looked at the millions who died of poverty and hunger, and he said : "I am the worshipper of *daridra nārāyaṇa,* of the *nārāyaṇa* who is located in all the poor people of this world. So long as they are there, how can I content myself with my own salvation, or with my own beatitude ? It is my duty to look after them all. The best way to reach God is by the service of man."

He inculcated a religion of patriotism—not patriotism in the narrow sense of the word but patriotism as the religion of humanity. His was a religion which called upon us to look upon all human beings as kindred, as belonging to one family. That is the kind of religion which he taught us and which he adopted. He called it "a man-making religion." It is a humanistic religion. There is no divorce between the contemplative life and social service. The two things are expressions of one and the same kind of phenomenon. If we have reached the Supreme and felt the reality of God in our own minds and thoughts, it would be our duty to come to the rescue of all people who are suffering in this world. A call to suffering is a thing which we should heed. Therefore he said : I suffer; I suffer anguish when I look at the misery of my country, when I look at the poor millions dying like flies for lack of food, sustenance, etc. Even Bhagavān takes pity : *Bhagavān anukrośamanubhavati*—He feels a kind of pity, a kind of compassion, when

He sees how the people, in whom the divine spark is located, are not able to develop that spark and make it into a splendour, make it into a flame. That is why we are here. We are here for the purpose of fulfilling ourselves, and that kind of fulfilment does not consist merely in the accumulation of wealth, or name and fame, or possessions. It consists in completing yourself, in your making yourself a symbol or an image of the Divine which dwells in you.

It is that kind of humanistic, man-making religion which gave us courage in the days when we were young. When I was a student in one of the classes, in the matriculation class or so, the letters of Swami Vivekananda used to be circulated in manuscript form among us all. The kind of thrill which we enjoyed, the kind of mesmeric touch that those writings gave us, the kind of reliance on our own culture that was being criticized all around—it is that kind of transformation which his writings effected in the young men in the early years of this century. In Madras it was so. I have no doubt that it was so in other parts of the country, too.

We are today at a critical period not merely in the history of our country but in the history of the world. There are many people who think that we are on the edge of an abyss. There is distortion of values, there is lowering of standards, there is widespread escapism, a good deal of mass hysteria, and people think of it and collapse in despair, frustration and hopelessness. These are the only things which are open to us. Such a kind of lack of faith in the spirit of man is a treason to the dignity of man. It is an insult to human nature. It is human nature that has brought about all the great changes that have taken place in this world. And if there is any call which Swami Vivekananda made to us, it is to rely on our own spiritual resources. Man has inexhaustible spiritual resources. His spirit is supreme, man is unique. There is nothing inevitable in this world, and we can ward off the worst dangers and worst disabilities which face us. Only we should not lose hope. He gave us fortitude in suffering, he gave us hope in distress, he gave us courage in despair. He told us : do not be led away by appearances; deep down there is a providential will, there is a purpose in this universe; you must try to co-operate with that purpose and try to achieve it.

Renunciation, courage, service, discipline—these are the mottoes which we can learn from his life. There was a time when Sri Ramakrishna marked him out for leadership. The last words which he uttered to any of his disciples were to Swami Vivekananda : "Take care of these boys." Many were older than he. But the advice was there—prophetic advice.

Swami Vivekananda established the Ramakrishna Mission, which has centres in India and abroad. I know of the splendid work which

that Mission is doing in the way of spiritual enlightenment and social service. We owe that Mission to his far-sighted vision, and we have it, and I have no doubt that it will continue for many years to come to function for the spiritual succour and the physical sustenance of the large part of humanity which is now enmeshed in materialism, crude and trivial.

It is essential, therefore, that we should remember what this great soul stood for, what he taught us. It is not merely a question of remembering it at a centenary celebrations, but trying to understand what he wished us to do, to assimilate it, to incorporate it in our being, and to make ourselves worthy of the country which produced Swami Vivekananda.

THE UNIVERSAL RELIGION OF THE *GĪTĀ*

FRIENDS : this is the day of Gandhiji's martyrdom. He looked upon the *Gītā* as the mother who supplied spiritual nourishment. He held it in great esteem and recited verses from it virtually every day.

The *Gītā* is a comprehensive treatise speaking of universal religion. *Brahma vidyā* is metaphysical knowledge. *Yoga śāstra* is ethical discipline. *Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda* is spiritual realization. Every religion requires metaphysics and ethics resulting in experience. You have these three things mentioned there. Metaphysical knowledge, or *brahma vidyā*, suggests to you a rational approach. It gives you an idea that this universe is not a chance product, or the product of any kind of chaos, but has a mysterious Presence governing it at every stage. In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* you are called upon to look at the cosmic universe and find out whether it is self-sustaining, self-maintaining, or whether it depends on a superior Presence governing it. A metaphysical, moral, rational approach gives you the idea that there is a Supreme. But mere knowledge is not enough. By mere *vākyārtha* you cannot attain the spiritual goal. You must undergo a transmutation of your own nature, a complete remaking of yourself, and strive to get rid of things which are undivine, unhealthy and uncreative in your nature.

Yoga is the discipline by which you transform yourself and if you have the knowledge and practise the discipline and the truth, it becomes one with your being. *Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda* is the personal communion of the individual with the Supreme. It is the contact with the Supreme. It is the experience of the Supreme. The two are not to be regarded as

Speech on presenting *Tāmrapatra Gītā* to the Defence Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 30 January, 1963

two diverse entities. Every individual has a fragment of the spirit of God. The reality is one, but it is made twofold, *nara* and *Nārāyaṇa*. They are always there, God is your eternal Companion. Whatever you may do, wherever you are, He is your Companion. *Nārāyaṇa* is the Friend of us all; *nara* is the ordinary individual symbolized here by the great Arjuna.

In other words, the end of all human effort is this personal communion with the Supreme; *saṁvāda* means communion or realization.

There are different ways, different systems, by which you can reach the Supreme. They are not exclusive of one another. Reason, heart and will constitute the human spirit; so *karma mārga, bhakti mārga* and *jñāna mārga* are not to be regarded as exclusive of one another. In every human individual, these three go together.

My friend Shri Y. B. Chavan comes from Maharashtra where Jñāneswar commented on the *Gītā;* more recently Bal Gangadhar Tilak commented on it. Bal Gangadhar Tilak made out that it was a mandate for action; it emphasized the part of action; it was not a question of renouncing the world; it was a question of developing the spirit of renunciation and participation in the agony of the world.

Every human being is called upon to take part in the struggle of life in its supreme endeavour to better itself. That is the purpose for which we are created. There are some who at a critical time try to abstain from action and get out of the battle of life. You find the *Gītā* opening with such a predicament. When Arjuna says :

na kāṅkṣe vijayaṁ kṛṣṇa
na ca rāyaṁ sukhāni ca
kiṁ no rājyena govinda
kiṁ bhogair jīvitena vā

Madhusudana Saraswati commenting on it says : Arjuna wants to become a *saṁyāsi,* he wants to get out of the world and not participate in this struggle. Then it is that Kṛṣṇa comes to the rescue and tells him, "It is unworthy of you."

kutas tvā kaśmalamidaṁ
viṣame samupasthitaṁ
anāryajuṣṭam asvargyaṁ
akīrtikaram arjuna

"What you are intending to do is unworthy of your ancestors. It will not give you any kind of reputation in this life or the other life. Your weakness of heart is petty, mean, unworthy of you. Take up the *gāṇḍīva* and fight."

Whatever work you do, whatever purpose is enjoined on you, do it, thinking of the Supreme, realizing that the Omnipresent is always there, wherever you are. Everywhere the Supreme is there beside you.

All that we are called upon to do is to develop the spirit of renunciation and participate in the world's activities. The *Gītā* concludes :

yatra yogeśvaraḥ kṛṣṇo
yatra pārtho dhanurdharaḥ
tatra śrīr vijayo bhūtir
dhruvā nītir matir mama

Wherever you have the contemplative wisdom of Śri Kṛṣṇa and the practical efficiency of Arjuna, there you will find prosperity, victory and everything else.

Now it is my great pleasure—which I have already carried out—to hand over these *tāmrapatras* to our distinguished countryman, Shri Chavan, and I hope that Lord Kṛṣṇa may bless him as he did Arjuna and make him carry out his obligations with success. My best wishes are with him.

SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here and pay my tribute to the great work done by the late Swami Dayanand Saraswati.

Among the makers of modern India, the chief place will be assigned to him. At a time when there was spiritual confusion in our country, when many of our social practices were in the melting pot, when we were overcome by superstition and obscurantism, this great soul came forward with staunch devotion to truth and a passion for social equality and enthusiasm, and worked for the emancipation of our country, religious, political, social and cultural.

To take the first aspect, the religious one : he was guided by the rule of reason. We have a number of sayings of his to this effect : some people worship the waters, the Ganga and so on, others worship the stars, still others worship images made of clay and stone; but to the wise man the Supreme dwells in his own heart, in his own soul. The Supreme is to be found in the inmost depths of the human being. The culture of our country accommodated every possible way of approaching the Divine, and so it gave a place to image worship also.

Speech at Bodh Utsava of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, New Delhi, 24 February, 1963

The supreme place was given to the practice of the presence of God. To get at it, we have to practise *dhyāna* and *dhāraṇā*. But many people are not able to concentrate their minds on the Supreme. Still others there are of a nomadic character who cannot be brought even to that stage. Some idea of God must be given to them by any means that one can possibly have, but all the time the one emphasis must be on the oneness of God. The Veda tell us : of all the Gods, the Supreme original Godhead is one and there cannot be any multiplicity of gods. When we talk of the great souls and avatars, we must realize that they are the manifestations of the one Supreme. There is only one Supreme Deity in this world. He may appear in varied forms but do not mistake the shadows for the substance. The Substance is One and Supreme and all our attention must centre round that Reality of which all these are to be regarded as different kinds of manifestation.

This existence of Godhead is not regarded as merely a speculation, or a dogma, or something which you derive from the prophet's words or the sage's words. It is something which you have to acquire by pursuing the rule of reason. Swami Dayanand Saraswati was one who was guided by the supremacy of reason and he made out that the Vedic scriptures never asked us to take anything on trust but to examine everything, and then come to any kind of conclusion.

In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* we are called upon to find out what the Ultimate Reality is. A father tells his son that that from which all things are derived, that by which they are sustained, that into which they are dissolved, *that* is supposed to be the Supreme Reality. What is *tapas*? Panini tells us *tapas* is reflection, *alochana*. He is looking at the world, trying to find out what this world manifests, what the supreme Principle which guides this world is which accounts for the progress that this world has made from a molten mass of fire to the present reality when people like Swami Dayanand have been produced. There is a great *rahasya* found there which accounts for the progress and order of the world. In other words, when we are called upon to practise *tapas*, we are called upon to practise our reason, our reflection, to look at the world, to try to judge things by our capacity to conform to the laws of reason and thought. In that way he emphasized the rule of reason and pointed out that there is one Supreme God. He also gave freedom of conscience. People may look upon that Supreme as this or that or a third thing. That one Supreme Reality is made out by our heart, by our intelligence and by our will. It is made out in different ways, but we who quarrel about that do not know that the one Reality which is there is the One Supreme without a second. If we really believe in God, if we believe that all human individuals are sparks or fragments of that divine fire, why is it that we have introduced hierarchical distinctions, distinctions of caste and outcaste, and imposed so many disabilities on

our women? Here he has to say that if you believe in God, then you must be a believer in the equality of all men and women. You cannot impose restrictions which forbid the study of the Vedas or the practice of the *Gāyatrī japa* to anyone in this world. By virtue of his manhood, of his humanity, everyone is a candidate for spiritual life. And nobody should be denied the privilege of pursuing the greatest fulfilment of his own nature. So not only did he believe in the Supreme but he also enunciated a law of equality of men and women and urged that nobody should be prevented from having access to the spiritual wisdom and the spiritual rituals of our country.

So he was a social reformer who had a crusading zeal, a powerful intellect and a fire in his heart when he looked at the social injustices. He tried to sweep them away with a drastic hand. This is also what the country requires today. That is why he went from place to place and told the people, "If you are believers, all believers belong to the one family of God. If you believe in the Supreme, every human individual is a spark of the Supreme. Therefore, you must try to give the best opportunities for the fulfilment of each human individual." So, the worship of the One, and the service of man, irrespective of caste, colour and creed, are the two fundamental principles which he formulated. Not only did he formulate them, he went about preaching this gospel, and the Arya Samaj has established many institutions which are today trying to perpetuate these things. Many of these have been incorporated in our social life and practice. Our social legislation after Independence gives equality to men and women; we have tried to remove the disabilities which subjected women to all sorts of atrocities. All these things have become today a part of our social life.

We should not forget how much we owe to the inspiration of a great man like Swami Dayanand Saraswati : we are adopting the principles which he taught us.

We can strengthen our nation only if we are able to abolish all man-made distinctions, and if we coalesce into a homogeneous community and stand together as one nation. It is this which we are called upon to do now. The teachings which Swami Dayanand Saraswati gave us are of great value today. They are of supreme importance at a time when we are still bickering and fighting about all sorts of things. Intolerance has been the bane of this country. Time and again this country has been subjected to all sorts of slavery. Why? —on account of our internal divisions, on account of our mutual intolerance. If we do not learn from the past, we have to live the past over again. The lesson we have to instil into our minds. If we are to learn from the past, the one lesson we need is : forget differences, do not quarrel with one another, believe in the One Supreme and look upon all people as children of that Supreme One.

THE SPIRITUAL DARING OF VIVEKANANDA

In the *Bhagavadgītā*, Chapter IV, it is said that the tradition of *jñāna yoga* was proclaimed by the Lord first to Vivasvān who passed it on to Manu, who gave it to Ikṣvāku. It was the same *yoga*, the Teacher said, that He was declaring to Arjuna. It was the same ancient *purātana yoga;* it was not a new doctrine which He was teaching. He was restoring the old tradition, the eternal truth, handed down from master to pupil. All great teachers restate the teachings of their former masters. They do not lay claim to be original but affirm that they are but expounding the ancient Truth. It is the final norm by which all teachings are judged. It is the *sanātana dharma*. "The wisdom that was not made use of," in the words of St. Augustine, "but is at present as it has ever been and so shall ever be." Swami Vivekananda is the spokesman of this eternal truth and he put it across in his age with special reference to its requirements.

Swami Vivekananda lived at a time when the scientific spirit was at its height, when Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill and Thomas Henry Huxley provided the intellectual nutriment. He was soaked in the spirit of science. He became restless, was tossed hither and thither and yearned to know the truth. He was dissatisfied with popular Hinduism. He joined the Brahmo Samaj and gave it up. He tried the different movements which attempted to preserve the ancient religious traditions of India by ridding them of their excrescences and of the grave social defects of Indian life. He became an agnostic and asked whether there was any truth and whether men could attain it. His restless spirit was afire for the attainment of wisdom.

Science is reasoning from observed data. Generally the experiences are limited to the world of external nature. When we investigate these external phenomena and reason from them, we draw conclusions. The facts are given, the theories are framed, but the given facts, the vital experiences, are not limited to the outward world. There are mental facts, psychological experiences and there are also spiritual experiences. Swami Vivekananda's good luck led him to a teacher for whom spiritual life was a fundamental reality even as intellectual and material life are to others. He approached Sri Ramakrishna and asked, "Can you prove it. Sir ? Do you believe in God, Sir ?" "Yes." "How ?" "I see Him just as I see you here, only more intensely." Here was a teacher who without any doubt or inconclusiveness affirmed that God was a fundamental Reality to be sensed and felt intensely.

Indian religious tradition has based itself on the foundation of spiritual experience. From the time of the Vedas to this day, the teachers

Address at Swami Vivekananda Centenary celebrations, Coimbatore, 31 March, 1963

of India, whatever may be the doctrines they profess or the denominations to which they may belong, go back to this one fundamental fact. If science is the study of facts, here is the supreme fact, namely, the reality of the Divine. God is in each one of us. We should try to discover Him. There are many ways by which we can attain an apprehension of the Supreme : *jñāna, bhakti* and *karma.* Swami Vivekananda wrote on these different subjects. *Tapasā brahma vijijñāsasva.* By *tapas* try to understand reality; *tapa ālocane; tapas* is reflection; "There are many things to learn; we must struggle for new and higher things till we die."

When religion becomes the life of spirit, a state of mind, the different doctrines become shadows which are cast by this substance : *acintyasyāprameyasya nirguṇasyāśarīriṇaḥ upāsakānāṁ siddhyarthaṁ brahmaṇo rūpakalpanā.*

The one Reality is *nirvikāra, aprameya,* yet for the sake of the good of human beings, who are yet incomplete and are striving to reach completeness, forms are given to that eternal formless Supreme : *rūpakalpanā,* imaginative presentation. The gods we worship are different manifestations of that fundamental Reality.

To reach this formless Supreme beyond all forms, worship, meditation, discipline, the suppression of one's ego and the change of one's being are all necessary. Here spiritual exercises have their place. The means fade away once we reach the Ultimate. They are boats which we use to cross the ocean of time, *bhava sāgara.* When we reach the shore beyond, the boats are not of much use. Those who have reached the Supreme look upon doctrines, rites, rituals and ceremonies as so many boats which they have used to cross the ocean of the world, *saṁsāra sāgara.*

Hospitality of mind and universality of outlook are the natural characteristics of the God-possessed souls. So they do not quarrel with others on the question of doctrines and rites. They look upon all religions as different means provided for imperfect mankind to reach completeness. Swami Vivekananda stood firmly against religious fanaticism. He said that he would sooner prefer to have all his compatriots turned into confirmed atheists than into superstitious simpletons. Fanaticism is a mark of belief in superstition and not authentic, rational faith. "The Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist, nor a Hindu or a Buddhist to become a Christian. But each must assimilate the spirit of the others and yet preserve his individuality and grow according to his own law of growth."

Many years later Professor F. W. Thomas, after a deep study of the Indian scriptures observed, "I do not suggest that Europeans should embrace an Asiatic faith. I would merely invite them to taste the delight of this rhythmic philosophy, this deep, slow breath of thought. From it

they would learn those virtues which above all others the soul of Europe (and of America) needs today : tranquillity, patience, manly hope, unruffled joy, 'like a lamp in a windless place, that does not flicker.'" It is this spiritual orientation that makes for the solidarity of the world despite its richness in variety.

Those who attain this religious consciousness look upon all human beings as sparks of the Supreme Spirit, embodiments of the Divine and strive to help them. Man is God's image and likeness. Service of man becomes their life principle. In his great speech at the Chicago "Parliament of Religions," Swami Vivekananda said, "The old religion said that he was an atheist who did not believe in God. The new religion says that he is the atheist who does not believe in himself. Stand up, be bold, be strong. Take the whole responsibility on your own shoulders and know that you are the creator of your own destiny."

"May I be born and reborn and suffer a thousand miseries if only I may worship the only God in whom I believe, the sum total of all souls, and above all, my God, the wicked, my God, the afflicted, my God, the poor of all races." The neglect of the masses is the great cause of our suffering. Swami Vivekananda was not so much a reformer as a revolutionary. He said, "You have long suppressed these forbearing masses; now is the time for the retribution." He protested against the social injustices and dreamed of a harmonious order in a society founded on the ideals of freedom and equality. The disinherited of the earth found in him a great friend.

Swami Vivekananda was an advocate of India's freedom. Only if the Indian people became masters of their future could they be the builders of their new society.

Swami Vivekananda taught us the Indian way of life which combines science, religion and humanism. There can be no science without the recognition of the cosmic mystery. We are humanistic because we believe that the Supreme is manifesting Itself in all human beings. God is our Eternal Companion, perpetually present with us, *āhāra śayyāsana-bhojaneṣu*.

This is the religion which takes us out of the restlessness of mind, confusions and ambiguities of the human spirit, the anarchy of creeds. It gives us certainty of vision and a faith to live by. It is the eternal truth which is put in the idiom of our age.

On this occasion of the centenary of Swami Vivekananda, it is good for us to realize these profound truths of all religions which alone can break down the barriers which divide man from man and help us to build up a larger world, a new world, a world which can give us comfort and hope, when material developments are threatening mankind with destruction. Each of us can step out of the crowd of gloomy alarmists, further the conviction of God's presence and its complete adequacy to

meet the human predicament. We need have no fear. The time calls for spiritual daring of which Swami Vivekananda was a great example. He worked for the resurgence of India; the Indian way of life is one which is for all mankind.

THE JAINA THINKERS

It is good that on occasions we recall the teachings of great seers and saints who have contributed to the greatness of this country. Bhagavan Mahavira's teachings are not an irrelevance, but are of contemporary interest and value.

We adopt an attitude of secularism. We mean by it that we do not adopt an exclusive or dogmatic conception of religion. Jaina thinkers have taught us to believe that the Real is many-sided—it is not of a single dimension. Therefore, we must have enough liberty to regard the Real from the point of view which appeals to us.

There are many today who, fed by the results of modern science and technological developments, are prepared to disregard the reality of a cosmic Supreme. Cosmonauts the other day went round above the world and said that they had searched everywhere but they had not found God. It is not necessary for us to search outside to discover the Reality which is within us : *tapo brahma,* the very aspiration, the hopeful heart, the searching mind, all those ideas which impel us to raise ourselves out of our present existence, are indicative of the Spirit that is working in us. God is not up in the skies sitting like a despot. He is not outside of us; He is within us. When our teachers proclaimed that the greatest science is *adhyātma vidyā* and the Upaniṣads tell us *ātma rīti, ātma kṛta,* they are pointing out to us that if we wish to see the Spirit, we have to see the Eternal within us. We discover the Real within ourselves and not in outward images or things like that.

Each individual is a potential candidate for divine status. By his effort he can raise himself above his present imperfect condition to a condition of completeness and perfection. Jaina thinkers give us *darśana jñāna;* we must have the faith; we must acquire knowledge; more than these two things, we must practise it in our conduct. There are many men learned in scriptural law who can quote texts and can preach; but a truly religious man is not one who is merely learned; he is not one who has faith; but he is one who, in every act of his life, manifests his belief in the ultimate Reality. He is one who is able to say

Speech inaugurating the Mahavira Jayanti celebrations, Delhi, 5 April, 1963

"I treat every human being as my own kindred." If that conduct is not manifest, you may talk as much as you please, but you cannot be regarded as an authentically religious man.

The Jaina thinkers have given us a number of vows which we have to practise. *Ahiṁsā, satya, asteya, brahmacarya* and *aparigraha* are the five principles which we are called upon to adopt in our everyday life. *Ahiṁsā* means the practice of love. So long as there are human beings who are subjected to inhuman disabilities, so long as they have no shelters above their heads, so long as they are obliged to live in mud hovels and shoddy places, so long as they expose themselves to all the handicaps of disease and malnutrition, we cannot say that we are practising the principle of *ahiṁsā*. Universal love means looking upon the difficulties of other people as our own and trying to help them out of them. Whether it is secularism, or whether it is faith in one's own self, which is the basis of democracy, whether it is insistence upon righteousness and the conduct which manifests righteousness, or whether it is a kind of endeavour which we are making to bring about a better distribution of economic opportunities, all these things are the result of what we call principles which are not an irrelevance but are of supreme value to us even at the present day. Our trouble has been that we have professed these ideals for centuries but we have not implemented them. We talk about them and we think we have done our duty by Bhagavan Mahavira by merely uttering his name or repeating his hymns. What is necessary is to assimilate his teachings, make them part of our being so that wherever we are and whatever we may do, we are exemplifying and demonstrating the validity of these great principles.

My advice to you is : today when you recall the teachings of Mahavira, do not be content with merely attending a meeting like this or going home and reading scriptures, necessary as these things are, but cultivate self-discipline and battle with all the passions which are lurking within yourselves—that is the only way in which you can pay your reverence to him. Jina is a conqueror, Mahavira is a great hero. What are the battles which they fought ? They battled with their own littleness, with their own selfishness, with their own stupidity, with their own sensuality—these are the qualities which are lurking within all of us. We should overcome them. Only then can we say that we are their true followers.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

LORD Rector, Your Excellencies and friends : as a university man, who spent more than fifty years in different universities in different parts of the world, I am very happy to be here in this assembly of teachers and students. If you are disappointed with any remarks that I make today, the blame for that lies on your Rector who has roused great expectations in you by the eulogistic account which he has just presented to you.

It is the same atmosphere that you breathe in whatever parts of the world you are, when you get into a university. In each generation, the universities have to reckon with the problems that face them. Our generation has its own specific problems to tackle. After the Second World War we have had the emergence of free nations in Asia and Africa. We have also what may be regarded as a revolution, a social revolution, of rising but yet unfulfilled expectations in the world. There is an increasing emphasis on science and technology, an emphasis which requires us to use the latest methods for the purpose of satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the submerged peoples of the world. And, above all, we have the great interest of peace to which your Rector has already referred. He has made out that in this world of spectacular nuclear developments either we get together or we pass out. These are the problems which are facing us. After the end of the Second World War, a number of nations in both Asia and Africa have become free. But political freedom is not an end in itself. We may have political freedom but if the people die of starvation, if they are ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-educated, if they suffer from destitution, disease, poverty, ignorance, then that freedom is not worth much. So, all over the world you have now a demand that the peoples of the world must be provided with the elementary necessaries of food, clothing and shelter, if their self-expression and development are not to be impeded. The only way by which we can set these things at rest is by the development of science and technology, the application of them to agriculture, industry, medicine, etc. These are the specific problems which face every university. A university is called upon to train students for tackling these specific problems. You must send out men and women who are capable of teaching, who are capable of helping the industrialization or the modernization of the country, who are able to bring together peoples. They should consider themselves not to be citizens of this or that nation, however much that may be necessary, but the citizens of the world as a whole.

The world requires to be treated as a unit. The methods of

Address at Kabul University, Afghanistan, 14 May, 1963

transport and communication, the way in which we are able to listen to the events which occur in distant parts of the world practically immediately—all these things make clear that the purpose of the world, the cosmic will is for establishing, to use the words of the Holy Prophet, a family on earth. A family, a fellowship in which all members co-operate as equal units—it is that that we are aiming at.

There are many people who think on account of their intoxication with the developments of science and technology that matter is the most important thing. But if we scrutinize a little further we will realize that these great developments of science and technology, if they establish anything, establish the omnipotence of the human spirit and not the omnipotence of matter. It is the human mind that sits in judgment on nature. Whether it is scientific discovery or technological development or artistic creation, the human being does not regard himself as a single item in a series of objective happenings. He believes that there is an element of subjectivity, an element of spirit in man which enables him to do the wonderful things which he is doing. There are people who say that we have travelled round the world—the cosmonauts have gone over the world—but we have not encountered anything Divine; which reminds us of what the people of an earlier age said : "We dissected the human body and did not discover the soul." Other people said : "We searched the sky with a telescope but did not find God there." We must realize that the knowledge which we gain by the senses and by the intellect is not complete. There is a kind of knowledge where the human being feels that he is spiritual in character, and it is this spirit which enables him to sit in judgment on nature, to discover the secrets of nature, to unravel the mysteries of this world and to realize that there is something more than what meets the eye.

What is science ? Science is the pursuit of truth. And what is truth ? Truth is not something which you manufacture from out of the resources of your mind; it is the pursuit of something which is extra-mental, which is objective, which is there to which the human individual has to subscribe. All the great changes that have taken place from the time when men lived in primitive caves down to the time when we are trying to circle the earth, when we are trying to traverse regions of space—all these things are due not to mere mind or the senses but to that spirit of onward endeavour which is identified with what you call the spirit in man. When the scriptures declare that man is made in the image of God, or an Indian scripture says that *deha,* or body, is *devālaya,* or the dwelling of God, they are trying to tell us that whereas the cosmic happenings may take place, man is not to regard himself as a mere item in the series of objective happenings. There is something in him which is beyond nature, which makes him sit in judgment on nature, which makes him understand what exactly it is that

nature reveals. It is, therefore, necessary for us to realize that if we suppress the spirit in us, if we overlook the inwardness of the human being, we lapse into rigidity, we lapse into routine and we shall not be able to succeed in trying to understand nature or do anything.

What is art again? Artistic creation is something where you feel an experience and you impregnate that experience with your own personal spiritual intensity and make it come alive—that is what art means. In our country, it is said, art is that which transmits to you a sense of the eternal, a sense which is beyond the merely temporal. A sense of something which is non-temporal in this world is conveyed to you by the achievements of the arts. Whether it is scientific creation or artistic endeavour or even a technological development, all these things make you feel that you are not merely a part of nature; in a larger sense there is a non-natural element in you, an element which exceeds mere nature; that element, therefore, is to be called the spirit in man. It is that spirit which is responsible for all the achievements which we have had in this world. It is not a thing which can be equated with mere mechanical nature. When people tell us that we are the victims of necessity, call it mechanical, providential or dialectical, they overlook the instinct for greatness and the instinct for freedom which are located in the heart of man. If we are merely the products of necessities, natural or providential, mechanical or dialectical, there will be no progress in this world at all. It is because there is something which is beyond the mechanism of the world that we are able to see that there is something universal.

Each human individual has to be a unique expression of that universal element; each human being is both unique and universal. He has in him an element of the Divine as also an element of nature. When the two things get integrated, then it is that you call a human being a fulfilled human being, a perfect human being, one who has been able to realize the discords and to overcome the discords to make of himself a single home.

When you say that here are these things, the spectacular development of nuclear physics, the arms which we have produced and which threaten us with ultimate destruction, you will note, on the other hand, that we also feel a biological instinct for survival. It is necessary for us to overcome the temptations of these nuclear developments, and we must try to establish supremacy over them. They are not our masters. *We* discovered nuclear weapons. *We* who discovered them can use them for peaceful purposes and need not use them for self-destruction or the annihilation of humanity.

Let us remember that in this world there have been many civilizations, one after the other—Babylon, Assyria, Greek. When you look into the history of those civilizations, you will discover one fundamental

fact : those which laid the stress on matter, on weapons, on arms, have passed away. Those which laid their stress on the development of friendship, love, brotherhood, have survived. They may be in a very lethargic way; but all the same, they have survived. If history has any lesson to teach us, it is this lesson : that nations which pledge themselves to peace and friendship, and which pledge themselves to use the greatest developments of science and technology for establishing human fellowship, it is such nations that have survived. And I have no doubt that in this age, when we are faced by annihilation or extension of human fellowship, we will adopt human fellowship, and overcome the obstacles which nuclear weapons set before us. Our doubts will be replaced by faith, our despair by hope, our uncertainty by conviction. Man has the tendency in him to overcome the evil. Every time we are faced by the duality of good and evil in human nature. We erect wonderful monuments for humanitarian work—the Red Cross, the Red Crescent and such other organizations. On the other hand, we develop too many weapons by which we inflict injury on man. We build up our defence forces; we also try to cure the evils which these defence forces cause to man. There is this duality, this dichotomy in human nature, this conflict between good and evil. There is this polarity, so to say, in human beings; it is this polarity that we have to overcome. We have to see to it that evil is surmounted and good becomes successful. It is for this endeavour that human beings were created in this world. Whereas the sub-human species acts instinctively, automatically, the human species is expected to act with deliberate, conscious effort—this is what it is expected to do. And if we are to use our wisdom for the purposes of overcoming the present catastrophic changes which threaten us, we have to overcome knowledge by wisdom. It is in great universities like this that you can develop that kind of faculty divine which is there in all human beings.

It is wrong to think that science and religion are opposed to each other. Science and religion represent two dimensions to the human being, the rational and the spiritual. These two things cannot be divorced from each other; they must be co-ordinated, they must be integrated, they must be correlated, if a human being is to become really a human being. There is no conflict at all between the great developments of science and technology which we have and the true religious sense of wisdom which is essential for using these great instruments for the purpose of human welfare.

Human well-being is the end which we have to set before ourselves. Humanity is above all nations and we have to bring together the nations into a kind of fellowship. Just as human individuals have given up their right of private violence, as tribes have given up their private army, as they have concentrated all force in the hands

of nation-states, and when disputes arise among individuals or tribes, they turn to the nation-states to adjudicate and execute justice, even so we will move forward to a time when nations will deprive themselves of a part of their sovereignty, deprive themselves of their arms and concentrate in a world authority all the forces of coercion which are available in the world and turn to that organization for the adjudication of problems and the execution of justice.

That is how historical development is taking place. And in a university we have to work towards that end. The little I saw of this University gave me great encouragement. You have faculties of medicine, of science, of arts, of teaching and of theology. All these must work together in co-ordination. Man is a single human being. All knowledge is indivisible. It cannot be a house divided against itself. And you must bring about the co-ordination or synthesis of the different faculties, of all the branches of knowledge which you are trying to pursue in this University, as in others. I wish you the best of luck.

TRADITIONAL VALUES AND MODERN KNOWLEDGE

MR Chancellor, Mr Dean and friends : I greatly appreciate the honour which this University has done me by admitting me to this academic community. It is only another indication that where science and scholarship are concerned, there are no distinctions of race or creed, nationality or colour. Those who pursue science and scholarship, wherever they may be, belong to the one priesthood of spirit, and it is on the basis of this intellectual solidarity that we can build up a world fellowship. Every university, therefore, has its contribution to make in bringing together the cultures of the world, the faiths of the world, and making them understand one another. That is the basis on which this world, which has found itself as one body, can discover its soul and become a united world.

The racial affinities, the spiritual qualities which bind the Iranians and the Indians, have already been mentioned. The Ṛg Veda and the Zend-Avesta have much in common. The Iranians and the Indians belong to one ethnic family, though they happen to be separated today. And the ideas and beliefs, which they cherish today, happen to be continuous with the ideas and beliefs which they had at the start of their careers. Zarathustra, who gave Zoroastrianism and its off-shoots of Mithraism and Manicheism to the world,

Speech at the University of Tehran, Tehran, 17 May, 1963

emphasized certain points which are still preserved by us. He made out that human soul is a battle field between good and evil. The whole world is a conflict between good and evil—Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. Human beings are today divided, riven, discarded personalities, and unless they are able to overcome the evil and integrate their own nature, they will not be able to have any kind of insight into fundamental reality. In other words, the inward and the outward must cohere and must go together. It is only then that we can call ourselves human beings, fulfilled human beings, not merely incomplete human beings as we happen to be.

How can we overcome this conflict between good and evil ? The only way to do it is by the practice of certain spiritual exercises which are given to us. Men are called upon to discipline their natures, to mediate and be solitary. It is not loneliness that they are emphasizing. Most of us are lonely in crowds, but many of us are solitary. We are not lonely since we have the Eternal Companion. God is with us, in Whose company we find solace and comfort. We are called upon, therefore, to develop the meditative faculties and do certain spiritual exercises by which we can integrate our nature. The purpose of all cultures is the integration of the human personality. If we, therefore, believe that man can rise from his present incomplete, unregenerate, ignorant condition and can rise to the condition of wisdom, happiness and joy; if the way to it is the conquest of evil, then the way in which this attitude expresses itself is again put by Zarathustra in three sayings. The task of humanity is threefold : to make the enemy into a friend, to make the wicked man into a righteous man, to make the illiterate into a learned man. You find here emphasis on social service—social service, spiritual discipline, insight into fundamental reality. When Islam came into this land, it again emphasized these aspects : its freedom, its dignity, its equality, its power to make you understand the nature of reality. These things were emphasized again.

Sufism is the highest expression of the Iranian genius in the religious field. You find here the same qualities which were once observed in Zarathustra's religion or in the Ṛg Veda itself. Dara Shikoh translated the Upaniṣads and wrote a book called *The Meeting of the Two Oceans of Sufism and Vedantism.* He made out that these two things emphasized the same aspects. You find there an emphasis on the transcendent remoteness of the Divine as well as the loving intimacy of the Supreme. These two qualities are to be found in Vedanta and in Sufi doctrines themselves. The living intimacy is there. It is Sadi who says : "Look at the generosity and grace of the Supreme. The slave has sinned, but the Supreme bears the shame." We have done something ignoble, unworthy of ourselves, but it is the Supreme that sustains the blame for it. He put it that way. He again told

us that the Supreme is not a Sultan in the sky, residing in a remote home. He is there, dwelling in the innermost depths of each human heart. He tells us, "My Father is nearer to me than I myself. But yet I feel that I am a stranger to Him." There is this contrast, this polarity. Here is the divine in every human being and, at the same time, because we are lost in the glamour of the world, in the pursuit of the finite goods which can never satisfy the infinite craving in man, we find that we are unable to discover what is there.

The presence of the divine is one thing, the consciousness of the presence of the divine is quite another. And any kind of religious fulfilment consists in the process by which the presence is transformed into consciousness of the presence. Your great mystic Jalaluddin Rumi says : "I was a mineral; I was a plant; I was an animal; I am a human being and I want to rise from my human level to a spiritual level. That is the end which is ahead of me."

Cosmic evolution had not reached its culmination when human intelligence was developed. It has yet a long way to go; man has to be surpassed. He has to go from beyond his present position to a position which is beyond his self. Here then is the Sufi doctrine which says : "I am the truth for which one of your great saints was executed, who affirms that the truth is not elsewhere; that the truth is in man, and that each one can discover it, and that he is a potential candidate for this divine status." That has been the faith. If it is so, it follows that there is nothing inevitable about the future. Each human individual has in him this boundless possibility which you call God; he has in him the divine nature. Omar, your great mathematician-astronomer, according to the English translation of FitzGerald, is reported to have said that the last day of reckoning would reap what the first day of creation wrote. If really Sufism, Vedantism, mysticism, if these have any truth in them, then this doctrine that life is nothing more than an unrolling of the process, cannot be true.

The future has nothing inevitable about it. There is an indeterminacy of the future. Many historians who have looked upon history have said that they see in it no definite pattern; they see in it the play of the contingent, the play of the unforeseen, the play of the human factor, whereas in the lower realms there is something instinctive and automatic where things may be regarded as determined. So far as the human being is concerned, there is nothing fixed, there is nothing predetermined. It is possible for him to mould events to suit his pattern. That is why human beings have before them the whole future. The gates of the future lie wide open. We need not think that we are more or less bound down to any particular course.

The presence of the divine has been put in different words. We have said : That art Thou. The Buddha has said that each one has

the essentials of enlightenment. Jesus has said that the Kingdom of God is within you. Hazrat Muhammad has said that God is nearer to you than the very artery of your neck. All these people are affirming the presence of a divine element in human beings. It is this that confers on us dignity, that confers on us responsibility, that makes us believe that it is possible for us to shape the future in any manner we choose. We should try to find out what it is that we want and, when once we know it, if we are firm in our view, if we act unitedly, there is nothing impossible for human beings to achieve.

It is because we are divided, we are fighting one with another, we are undisciplined in our nature, we are not united, that we have all the confusion that we come across in the world. The confusion in the world is a reflection of the confusion in our own souls. If we are able to discover the element which is able to integrate our own nature, immediately we will find that there is nothing determined, that there is nothing fixed but the whole thing is open to us and it depends on us what we make of the future of this world.

Both Herodotus and Æschylus talked about the Persians. They both said that your people were valiant in spirit and were lovers of truth, who loved to write, to speak the truth and not falsehood. If they had suffered in the wars with the Greeks it was because they were inferior in their equipment; there was inadequacy in their training. This is what Æschylus tells us in his drama *Persians*. This is what Herodotus tells us when he deals with the conflict between the Greeks and the Persians. Even though both the writers were Greeks, they were honest enough to admit that so far as intrinsic virtue and personal valour were concerned, the Persians were not inferior to the Greeks, or to any other race. What they were inferior in were equipment and inadequate training.

That has been the curse, not merely of the Persians, but of the whole East. So far as the Africans and the Asians are concerned, the real problem has been that they were left behind in the battle for life. The race is to the swift and the strong, not to the lazy and the idle. We have turned to be lotus-eaters, merely resting on our oars, thinking all the time of the great things which we once achieved. But we have also to see to it that in this world we have to reckon with the requirements, with the new challenges that are imposed on us. It is in the universities that you can bring about a blend between traditional values and modern knowledge. If you give up your traditional values, if the roots are cut away, the tree cannot live. You must preserve the traditional values which you have but assimilate them with modern techniques, science, etc.

What is a university for? It is for the transmission of ideas and ideals, of skills and techniques. These have to be transmitted from

one generation to another; and the ideals and the ideas may be the same but the skills and the techniques have been changing from age to age, and unless we are able to reckon with modern challenges, we will be left behind.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me to know that in this University you have sections for modern science and technology and that you recently started an institute of nuclear physics. All these things indicate that you are aware of the task which is assigned to universities and that you are attempting your very best to bring about a synthesis between the old and the new. The only way in which we can live in this world is to preserve the soul and remould the body so as to make it a fit instrument for achieving success in this competitive world.

It is my hope, it is my earnest prayer, that this University may send forth into the world men of knowledge and virtue, of skill and refinement who will bring glory not only to this University but to the world at large.

THE CREATIVE LIFE

FRIENDS: it is always a great pleasure for me to find myself in the climate of a university where boys and girls and eminent teachers from all parts of the world come together in the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom.

You referred to the sanctity of this great place, to the inspiration which people who come here derive from the fact that Sadi and Hafiz both belong to this part of the country, and that they sang here. If there is one message which they gave to the world, it is that God is not somewhere up above us, but that He is the innermost Being of one's own self, wrapped up, so to say, in so many covers or layers. If we are to discover the Universal within us, we have to detach ourselves, abstract it from the layers of body, mind and intellect, and see the Universal dwelling in each one of us. To get into touch with that Universal Spirit means the fulfilment of man's being. Man, as he is, is incomplete, ignorant, unregenerate, and he wishes to complete himself, to get beyond his present imperfections; and he tries to achieve completeness of being. That is possible only by vigorous discipline of mind, by developing a chastity of spirit which does not recognize boundaries of nations, races, etc. And if we are able to attain to that kind

Address to Pahlavi University, Shiraz, 20 May, 1963

of perfectness of being, completeness of being, we try to use that wisdom for the purpose of creating a better life in this world.

I may illustrate this by a reference to our flag, where you see the circle, the wheel of time that is perpetually moving. But it is not a cyclical movement, it is a spiral movement, ever advancing from one stage to another, from minerals to plants, plants to animals, animals to human beings, and human beings to God in man. So the wheel of time is represented by the circle. But does it rest on itself ? Is time self-maintained, is it self-supporting, or does it depend on an eternal background and can we give any description of it ? The answer again is the pure white background, what we call the white radiance of eternity. You cannot describe it. Any account you give of it falls short of its immense wealth. Therefore, the only homage which you can pay to it is the homage of adoration, of mere science : that is, the homage which the finite mind can pay to the infinite mystery which inspires the whole temporal process. So we put the white background there to give people a description of the Divine in halting words.

Logical propositions fall short of the wealth of that Being. Therefore, we say, "Do not quarrel about the names you give to the Divine, or about the way you take to the Divine. The ways may turn and twist but when you reach the top you witness the same spiritual landscape, and from different parts of the world you beckon to those who are able to realize that."

If the temporal process, of which we are a part, is there, and if this temporal process rests on an eternal background, how can human beings find out how to live in the world of time with the perspective of eternity ? It is not possible without incurring much sacrifice and cost. In our country, *tapas,* the burning of your appetites, the burning of your lower passions, the making of yourself a clean man, depends on fervour, austerity. It is the burning of the dross that is represented by the orange colour which we put at the top. So we have : the wheel of time, the background of eternity and the discipline of suffering by which man can make himself live in this world with that eternal background in his mind. When once you attain it, is that the final consummation, is that an end in itself ? No, your whole attempt should be, when once you become disciplined, to produce creative life in this world. Creative life is always indicated by green colour. It is the colour of vegetation, it is the colour of all growth. So we have in that flag a symbol of the universal process through which humanity has to go.

Live in the world of time, have the perspective of the eternal, discipline yourself so that in every act you do, you do it as a dedication to the eternal. And all your activities are to be utilized for the purpose of producing a better life, a creative life, in which every man will have

more amplitude of existence, more richness of being, more fervour of friendship. That is what our flag stands for, that is what your great sages, Sadi and Hafiz, stood for, and it is that which constitutes the final goal of humanity, when we rise from our present existence to a better life.

THE INWARD LIGHT

I AM greatly honoured by your kind thought of admitting me into the academic community of this University of Pennsylvania. The world of scholarship and science knows no boundaries of race or nationality; they form one republic, so to say. It is this republic of letters and science which will help in the near future, we hope, to bring about intellectual solidarity among the peoples of the world and prepare the way for a world fellowship. I, therefore, appreciate this great distinction which you have conferred on me today, Sir, by taking me into your community.

This Pennsylvania derives its name from William Penn who founded the city and was a Quaker and a member of the Society of Friends. Dissatisfied with the traditions of theology and rituals in his time, being a mystic by temperament, he turned to Quaker doctrine and made it the governing principle of his life.

There are many people today lost in spiritual confusion and tempted to become atheists or sceptics. They are also asking themselves the question whether there is not a religion which we can practise with intellectual integrity and ethical conviction. Such people, who are the children of modern science, turn to the Quaker doctrine which has so much in common with the traditions of our own country. There are many people in our country who are also dissatisfied with the practices which are repugnant to one's conscience, with beliefs which are incredible in their character and don't command themselves to the cultivated minds of modern times. They have also turned to religion as a spiritual encounter, an adventure, a kind of insight into the Ultimate Truth. They are the people who tell us that the Supreme doesn't dwell in Heaven above, but it dwells most pre-eminently in the souls of men. You call it, the Quakers call it, "inward light." We call it *avatara jyoti,* or the light which dwells in the inmost being of man.

You have therefore a community, so to say, in the world of spirit, in the Quaker doctrine, which has been the governing principle of the life of members of this community and in our own country. It

Special Convocation Address at the University of Pennsylvania, 5 June, 1963

is because we believe in the spiritual nature of the human being, because we believe that the human being is the dwelling place of the Supreme; that body which we call *deha* is *devālaya,* or the Temple of the Supreme.

Therefore it is, we feel the disparities between our professions and the practices which prevail in our country. We have proclaimed these ideals of the divine possibilities of every human being, but in our practices we have denied these professions. That is why we in our country have suffered, suffered a great deal, and we are trying today to bring our practice into conformity with our professions. If really we think that each human being has divine possibilities, has the light of spirit in him, indwelling light as you call it, then every human being will have to be regarded as entitled to the highest possibilities, the highest consideration, not to be regarded as ever deserted by the Supreme or condemned to any kind of destruction. Every human being has the spirit of God in him.

This, I think, is the basis of the democratic practice. Democracy is not merely a political arrangement, or convenience; it is a spiritual faith. This is a faith which we are trying to practise today in our political institutions themselves. In our Constitution, you will discover, that there are several of these things which we once upon a time adopted, which we tolerated, which are being set aside, and you will find "untouchability" being made criminal, class distinctions and caste distinctions being reduced to their proper level. Class distinctions may be inevitable but caste distinctions are wrong and pernicious. We are trying to get rid of all these things.

And a more important point is that we tolerate other religious views, not merely tolerate, but appreciate them. If religion is to be regarded as a personal adventure, an insight into the Ultimate Truth, then there may be different pathways, different forms of address. All these things are accepted as valid though we may practise our own particular way of life.

In our country we have people professing Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, Sikhism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism. All of them are, according to the Constitution, at liberty to profess their beliefs, practise their rites, and carry on in their own way so long as they don't hurt the conscience of other people, so long as they don't interfere with the equal liberty which other people have.

This has come down to us from our early centuries. People may come from different directions, approach different ways, so long as they are pilgrims on the road they may have their differences, they may have their quarrels, but when the pilgrims reach the end of their quest, they will feel that they belong to one supreme family, they form kindred spirits, whether they come from Islam, Christianity, Hinduism or

Buddhism, they all belong to one Church of God Universal. We may not all belong to the Church of Christ, or Buddha or Muhammad... but we all do belong to the Church of the One Universal Spirit, which is called by different names in different religions.

That has been the tradition which has come down to us for over thirty centuries. We have not always followed it. We have deviated from it in our unfortunate days, but so long as some of the people were able to put that ideal before the conscience of the community, before the mind of the community, that was accepted as the right thing.

Today the Constitution proceeds on that principle, the principle saying that religion is to be regarded as experience of the Supreme. When we see through a glass darkly, we see in part. Saint Paul says : We may have our quarrels. But when once we see God face to face, our quarrels cease and we are able to beckon to each other as belonging to the same family.

That has been the tradition which has come down to us, and that is the tradition which is the basis of the democratic faith. In this country and in this centre, Philadelphia, you have practised that to the best of your ability. It was said that the term Philadelphia derives from a Greek word meaning "brotherly love." When you practise brotherly love, when you look upon all people as children of the Supreme, then there can't be any real distinction between one race and another, or one nation and another. There is no master race, there is no master nation, there is no master class. We are all equally citizens of this world and the children of the Supreme.

Therefore, all these barriers and distinctions are cancelled, so to say, taken over, sublimated, into one kind of truth, human fellowship. When therefore the independence of the United States was declared in this country, you were practising this same concept that no man has a right to govern another and every one must live under an administration which he chooses for himself. In other words, the community must be given the liberty to choose the type of government under which the community lives.

It is that principle of the equality of all beings which is inscribed in your Constitution. "All men are equal"..."All men are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That was the concept which promoted, fostered and inspired, so to say, the independence of the United States of America. It was promulgated here and the Constitution was formulated here by your first great President.

This impulse, this inspiration, has encouraged many other peoples of the world to fight for their own political liberty, and it has succeeded in enabling so many submerged peoples and subject nations to gain their political freedom. You were the inspirers, so to say, of that great movement for freedom. Not only did you do that, it is the

same kind of impulse that led Abraham Lincoln, a hundred years ago, to emancipate the slaves. He it was who declared that it is not possible for a country to be half free and half slave. He it was who took courage and who promulgated that doctrine. It is easy to inscribe things in the Constitution, difficult to implement them in practice.

But the goal is there, the directive is there, we should try to see there are no more slaves left in this world. That also is a direct result of the famous principle of the indwelling light, of the light within, in the human individual. If you sincerely believe in that, it follows that these artificial inequalities and the burdens under which people suffer, the subjection of women, so to say...all such disabilities require to be removed.

So not only the political independence of nations, but the social equality of all human beings were the concepts directly derived from the Quaker principle, or the principle of the indwelling light; that each individual must regard himself as equally a candidate for the potential status of acquiring a higher, spiritual life that follows. And it is the same concern which has made this University take interest in other institutions beyond the borders of the United States.

I just heard that you had established connections with the University of Bombay. I was a fortnight ago in the University of Shiraz and I was very pleased to find there that the medical faculty of the University of Shiraz was manned by a number of people from this University of Pennsylvania. I met them all a few days ago and they said there is a kind of relationship established between the University of Shiraz and the University of Pennsylvania.

Such close relationships with outside universities which don't belong to your nationality, to your particular State, are being established now in all parts of the world and it only shows that the impulse toward establishing world fellowship is on the increase. There is no doubt that we are at the moment a confused people. We believe that for security it is necessary for us to pile up armaments. We also realize that this piling up of armaments may by mistake or accident result in annihilation of the human race. We know the two impulses are conflicting with each other in each human being. Man is a paradoxical being, full of contradictions, glorious and yet scandalous. He is one who is the crown of creation, at the same time he belongs to the scum of creation also.

You have in man these two impulses conflicting with each other. What is necessary is to integrate the human person, to see to it that the divine dominates his whole life, that the fallen nature, so to say, the baser passions, other things which happen to be there, are kept in check, subdued, and man himself is lifted to see the glorious destiny for which he is intended.

It is that which makes us still seekers. We have not attained our goal. We are struggling, we are on the pathway, there is light and there is darkness. Both these things are fighting each other in every human being, and it is essential that the darkness be dissipated and the clouds of misunderstanding dispersed, and the light must shine in all the activities which we perform.

I have no doubt that if we are really serious about our faith in the Supreme, if it is not merely a facade or a profession, but if it is something which is a consuming fire, which is a burning conviction in you, something which transforms your nature, makes you believe it is not enough for you to conform to the world as it is, but you should change your whole nature, it will make us change the habits which have come down to us for centuries, and see that what was possible once upon a time, what was permissible then, is not permissible today, because of the dire and disastrous consequences which the pursuit of the same practices will bring about.

Conditions have changed. War may have been used as an instrument for establishing justice once upon a time, but war in the nuclear context is intolerable. There will be neither justice nor injustice, there will be no humanity left in this nuclear age. It is therefore essential that man who has changed so often should change once again. He is here at one of the crucial periods of history when humanity has to take a leap forward, has to change his axis of conduct, national and international. If man has to survive, he must change; if he doesn't change, he will perish.

The light within us gives us the hope that it is possible for us to change. We have changed so often in our history. What is it that has enabled us to push forward, to bring about all the great achievements which enable us to establish a unity in this world, which enable us to feed everyone, to house everyone, and to clothe everyone ? The possibilities are there available for us. It is that light within that has impelled us to go forward step by step, to advance from one stage to another, adjust ourselves to changing conditions. That very capacity which we have exhibited, manifested so very often in our past history, gives us hope that if we are sincere, earnest, disciplined and dedicated, it will be possible for us to bring about a new world, a changed world, a transformed world, where man will not be afraid of man, and man will love man and try to bring about a new world altogether worthy of humanity.

It is this doctrine of not looking upon man as mere object, an item in a series of happenings, the victim of necessity, dialectical or naturalistic, but as one who can sit in judgment on nature. The human being is not a mere fraction of nature. He has something non-natural

in him. . .he sits in judgment on nature, moulds nature, remoulds it, and brings it into conformity with his own ideals.

Man is a subject as well as an object. If we overlook the subjective character, the inwardness, the freedom of the human being, we do so at our peril. Lessons of the past give us hope that we may transform ourselves in the future, that we may become different from what we are. We need not inherit the past practices. We'll reckon with the changed conditions, with the new environment, and understand that in this new environment the persistence of old practices will mean ruin to humanity. If we are able to understand that, it means that we will be able to change ourselves and to change the world and bring about a new kind of world in which we can settle down in peace, friendship, and amity.

In a university it is given to us to learn from one another, learn about one another, about other people's beliefs, about other practices. bring about an understanding of one another. All the religions, all the cultures, all the civilizations have come together today. And this gives us opportunity to see that though there may not be uniformity, there may be harmony, there may be unity, there may be recognition that we are partners in the one supreme task of nourishing the spiritual life of mankind. We are not rivals for power, for domination. If the university spirit possesses us, if we are able to act in the light of that spirit, this world will become a better place than what it happens to be.

I am an optimist. Only this morning I said : "Turn the face of the world to the sun. Let us look to him. . .let us not become victims of either baseless optimism or groundless despair. Take recognition of the reality of the situation. Take account of the inwardness of the human being, of the spirit that dwells in him. That spirit will conquer all the darkness and matter."

I am proud to call myself an alumnus of your University and I wish it all success.

THE NATURE OF MAN

Mr President, Mr Chancellor, and friends : It is a great honour for me to be here this afternoon and to receive this degree of Doctor of Laws from New York University. I appreciate it very much because of my intimate connection with your Chancellor who

Special Convocation Speech on receiving the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from New York University, 11 June, 1963

was a colleague of mine in the UNESCO Executive Board and whom I visited at Illinois University some years ago.

It is a pleasure for me to know that your President was at Oxford at a time when I held a Chair there. In the years 1947 to 1950 he happened to be there and he tells me that he attended some of my lectures at that university. I believe this kind of intellectual co-operation is essential for the new world which is facing us today. We started off with a great deal of confidence at the beginning of the century, until that confidence was shattered by the First World War. In the subsequent years we passed through phases of nihilism, confusion, excitement and had no definite purpose and the Second World War came. And after the Second World War we are now in a period of what is called the cold war.

Here are two great groups standing against each other, piling up armaments, threatening the world with destruction. I say unwillingly, because all these Powers, so far as I know, are interested in coming to some kind of settlement and saving the world from destruction. That is their real purpose. But officials are obliged to take views which are against their personal convictions on account of the pressure of circumstances and events. It is my earnest hope that this present deadlock will be resolved and the world will settle down to a peaceful community.

Whether it is science or metaphysics or religion that we think of, all these things are there to tell us about the freedom of the human individual. When we are told that scientific developments mean the dominance of determinism, the dominance of the environment, we have to demur to such a kind of speculation and say : The scientist, if he affirms anything, he affirms the responsibility of the individual... his capacity to sit in judgment over the environment, mould the environment to suit his own purposes and his own wishes. He is trying to overcome the limitations of his physical being, he is trying to escape from the necessities of nature, he does not want to be a mere instrument of nature, a mere part of nature or a fraction thereof. He is asserting individuality, the freedom, the inwardness, so to say, the subjectivity of the human soul. He is affirming that man may be a composite of subject and object. If we overlook the subjective character and merely look upon ourselves as a thing, as a mere machine, as an object, we are dehumanizing ourselves.

So many things are happening in this world, which tend to that process of dehumanization. They are all leading us to believe that man has no hold on the development of events, that events will take their course, whatever man may do. But if you look at the history of the world it tells us that all the progress that has happened is due to the initiative of the human individual, to the assertion of his will, to

his supremacy over the environment, to the tendency by which he says : "It is not possible for me to submit to nature, I care for freedom, I wish to escape from coercion. Whether that coercion be historical, scientific, natural or environmental, whichever it may be, I wish to escape from that." It is the aspiration for freedom that is asserted and established by the scientific quest, by the scientific tendency to dominate nature.

It is exactly the same tendency to escape from necessity, to escape from the tyranny of time, that constitutes the reality of the metaphysical quest. All the metaphysicians in the world—whether they are of a religious nature or of an opposite kind—they always tell us that one thing we are trying to assert here is : How can we escape from all the tendencies of the physical world, tendencies which lead to decay, lead to death ? How can we escape from death ? The metaphysician asks : If time is all, if the world is a series of perishings and creations, if nothing is stable, if nothing abides, if everything passes away, is there any value in this world, is there any meaning in this world ? Are we merely the victims of this stream of time, or is there any purpose ?

It is again this desire to escape from the tyranny of time with its death and other things. A great metaphysician said : "It may be a fleeting fear for people who don't think about it, but for people who think, who contemplate on the predicament in which human beings are placed, it is a primordial fear, it is a fear which is rooted in us." Is it possible for us to escape from that fear ?

The answer which has been given us is that it is possible for us to escape from that. All the metaphysicians, all the religious seers have asserted it. Who shall save me from the body of this death ? The crucified Lord is not the last word on the subject. Christ is risen. In other words, the immortal spirit is there, it is not subject to the vicissitudes of time, it is something which supersedes all those things, it is that spark of celestial fire which is found in each human individual, which is *not* subject to chance, which is not subject to natural necessity.

So when people come to us and tell us that the future is inevitable, that there is nothing for the human individual to do, that he is merely the servant of the forces of nature, the forces of the environment, when they talk like that, they overlook the whole history of humanity, the whole history of our progress. At every stage the progressing individual, the free responsible individual, asserts his supremacy over environment.

So today, when this deadlock faces us, when we are confronted by this menacing piling up of nuclear armaments, and when people tell us that by accident or by mistake or by some chance something might happen, we are overlooking that spark of freedom that each individual

possesses. If we believe in that, there is no question that the gates of the future are wide open and it will be possible for us as human individuals with boundless possibilities to overcome what seems to be the inevitability of the future.

There is no such thing as any inevitability so far as human life is concerned. We are degrading human nature, dehumanizing it, making humanity a mere robot. Well, that is the sort of thing which is against the spirit of all science and of all metaphysics and of all religion. I feel that even science should not make us believe in the omnipotence of matter or the omnipotence of necessity. It shows to us the superiority of the human mind. If this human mind surrenders its humanity, makes itself into an object, lapses into rigidity and routine and doesn't understand the boundless possibilities which are located in that creative side of human nature, it is then that we become victims of necessity, dialectical, mechanical, historical, or even providential. There is no such thing as God dictating the future of events completely. We are co-workers with the divine spirit, every scientist, every technologist, is a co-creator. . .he is doing something which would be duly regarded as the prerogative of the divine. The divine uses the human individual. Every human individual has in him this eternal spark, this creative element. If we overlook it, we are untrue, unfaithful, to our own education, to our own humanity.

The purpose of the world is to make men, human beings, into humane beings, into beings who are civilized, who abhor cruelty, who can't stand the torture to which men are subject unnecessarily. So long as there are iniquities to be overcome, errors to be corrected, evil to be surmounted, the human individual has a task to fulfil. And he can fulfil that task because the intelligence of the Supreme Power or the Divine has its location in the human heart. It is there—fighting, so to say, the undivine parts. So much of it is darkness, yet the light is there, and the light will overcome the darkness until at last the human individual becomes a manifestation of the true spirit of man.

A university must stand for the pursuit of truth and goodness. Intellectual integrity has been the fundamental principle of human life. These are the two qualities which mark out a university. These are the ideals for which we are prepared. We must work with those ideals and that love and justice prevail in the affairs of men.

THE FULFILMENT OF MAN

Mr Vice-Chancellor, Lord Provost and friends: I am greatly honoured by your kind thought for admitting me to your academic community. It is an added satisfaction to me that I receive this degree at the hands of one of the most illustrious scientists of world renown, who is your Vice-Chancellor and Principal. He and my friend and colleague, Professor Campbell, have been very generous in their laudatory utterances. On such occasions they are expected to do so, and so we take them for granted.

I should like to take this opportunity to tell you that I visited this place in 1936 as a delegate for the Commonwealth Universities Conference. I then had the chance of meeting one or two of my old teachers of Madras Christian College. Mr Macphail was here to welcome me; and in Madras Christian College we had a very distinguished theologian, Professor A. G. Hogg, who was my teacher and theologian at that college.

The work done by the three colleges, Madras Christian College, the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, and Wilson College, Bombay, has been very notable, and many leaders of our country were trained in those institutions. I had the honour of presiding over the Centenary of Wilson College a few years ago, and I then read the life of John Wilson who made that college what it happens to be today.

You referred, Mr Vice-Chancellor, to your Medical School and the close connections which have been established between this Medical School and Baroda Medical College. Many of our graduates were trained in your Medical School—which has notable names on its roll, Lister, Simpson, etc.,—and they are doing very valuable work in our country. It is my earnest hope that this training which you are giving to our students will continue over many years. You have put us into your debt by giving them the training which is not easily available in our country at the present moment.

Philosophy has been the special subject of my own study, and there again I read in my student days many works of your professors. We had A. S. Pringle-Pattison, James Ward, and later Norman Kemp Smith and A. E. Taylor to study. Their works were textbooks for us when we were in our Master of Arts course. And in English literature we had to read Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*. This gave us an idea of the romantic life in Scotland. It is no wonder that you have now these international festivals of music and drama as also a film festival. Many of our young men and women, I have no doubt, have greatly profited by these events.

Address on receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of the University of Edinburgh, 14 June, 1963

The influence of Scottish philosophy in general has been very considerable but not always good. There are people today who profess a doctrine called logical positivism and claim philosophical descent from David Hume. They tell us that this doctrine as a form of knowledge consists of matters of facts and relations of ideas. If there is a book on divinity or metaphysics which deals with anything less I shall dismiss it as sheer sophistry and illusion—these are the sort of words which David Hume used, and the logical positivists have added to it the new techniques of linguistics and analysis, displaying a creed of their own. They are metaphysicians of a type presiding over the extension of metaphysics, according to their estimates. That is what they are attempting to do, but they do not seem to realize that scientific theories are not mere transcripts of facts but are interpretations of experience. They look at the world and they try to find out whether this world could be accounted for on the basis of mere chaos or caprice, or whether there is any guiding principle or not.

If you look at the cosmic panorama, the way in which it has developed from matter to life, life to mind, mind to intelligence, intelligence to spirit, you cannot put it down as merely due to the accident of nature. In other words, you establish that there is an ordering purpose, a guiding intelligence, a cosmic mystery. You may not be able to fathom its nature completely but, all the same, unless you envisage something like that it will not be possible for you to give an explanation which commends itself to your mind.

And when you talk of experience, it is not something to be limited merely to the experience of space and time. There is intellectual experience, there is moral insight and there is spiritual encounter with the Supreme. The highest kind of experience is one where the human individual is able to feel that he is not a mere fraction of nature, that there is something in him which enables him to sit in judgment on nature, enables him to control nature and thus to escape from the necessities of nature. Unless you regard the individual as a duality of subject and object, as having within himself nature and super-nature, it will not be possible for you to account for all the great work which we have done in this world from the time when we were thrust into it down to our present day.

It is essential, therefore, to regard the human individual not as a mere animated instrument, but as someone who is a co-creator with the Divine, who is assisting the purpose of the universe, trying to lead it from one stage to another. Unless we feel that there is such a thing as man's encounter with the Supreme and allow it to constitute an essential element of man's nature, man is not fulfilled, is not complete; he has not reached what he is to reach, unless he is able to develop the spirit in him. We feel that the way in which we give expression to the

Supreme, the intellectual ideas, the mental images, are relative, transient and should not be taken as final and absolute. Any finality or absolutism in our concept kills spiritual adventure, the process of trying to move forward from stage to stage. Man is here called upon to complete himself. The great tradition of Scottish philosophy, to my mind, is that it is not the positivist emphasis, but the spiritual orientation that all your great theorists have asserted.

What the world requires today is spiritual orientation. We have done so many things in this world, and yet we are afraid of what is likely to happen. That is because man is a duality. He is capable of doing great things and capable of doing very low things. He is at once the scum of creation and the crown of it. This duality, this dichotomy, in his nature has to be overcome. Man must become one, so as to reflect the higher tendencies in him. If he is able to do that, he becomes really what he is intended to become. When that happens, it is what we call the fulfilment of man. The redemption of the human race as a whole is the goal of human history. That kind of redemption can happen if each individual exerts himself, disciplines himself, puts himself to all sorts of exercises, understands that religion is a costly business. It is not something which we can easily attain, and those who profess to be religious are yet able to tolerate inequity, injustice and error in the world. It means that some of us who prefer to be religious are tolerating these things.

I only wish to say that when we are in doubt, the spiritual outlook will give us the courage and the compassion to denounce everything which goes against these fundamentals—the verities of truth, love and goodness.

I appreciate, Mr Vice-Chancellor, the honour you have done me and I shall cherish it all my life.

HUMAN FELLOWSHIP

Mr Secretary of State and friends : I am grateful to you for your very warm words and for this gift which I shall cherish. You spoke about the influence of the Scottish system of education on us—industry, political life, and your reference to Hume. We acknowledge with gratitude the help which your great leaders have rendered to our country, but sometimes I have a doubt whether your influence on India is greater than your influence on England. You spoke about

Speech at a banquet in Edinburgh Castle, 14 June, 1963

my studies of comparative religion. Someone asked, what is your religion?—Church of England. What is yours?—Church of Scotland. What is yours?—Church of God. That is much more important. Whatever may be denominations we have, we are all the children of the Supreme and we bow in silence and admiration to that mysterious Power which guides the destinies of individuals as well as of nations. You spoke about Hume. I had an opportunity of referring to some of his thoughts today. Recently the cosmonauts travelled through space and came back and said, "We never encountered God; how can God exist?" Once upon a time, we said, we searched the skies with a telescope and we did not find God there. Others said, we dissected a body of a human being but did not discover any soul. If sense experience is to be regarded as the only authority for knowledge, then all these gentlemen are correct, but if our knowledge is something which is more extensive than what sense experience gives us, if we have artistic appreciation, moral insight and other things, then we are delivered from this kind of bondage to the sense world, and we get out of it and feel that there is something more to this universe than what the senses disclose to us. To that extent when Hume said that any book on divinity and metaphysics which does not deal with matters of fact and relations of ideas, then that book does not deserve our consideration. That is how he put it. It is sophistry, it is illusion. We may as well consign him to the flames as going too far. But your Scottish tradition has been something different from that. The general tendency of Scottish philosophy is a philosophy of common sense, empiricism combined with common sense. It gave to you a mystical and religious turn and it is that which binds our two countries together, and that breeds toleration also—not merely toleration but appreciation of other faiths. When Christianity arose it had to deal with Greek thought and Roman organization and it made adjustments. Today that environment has become wider. We have become heirs to the spiritual traditions of not merely Palestine, Greece and Rome, but China, India and the Middle East. We are brought together, and it is essential for us to discover the areas of agreement among all these religions, emphasize them, and on that basis build up a human fellowship.

THE TEACHINGS OF SWAMI SIVANANDA

FRIENDS : for many years I have been reading the writings of Swami Sivananda whom I had the fortune of meeting only a few months ago before his death.

Swami Sivananda brought spiritual comfort to many afflicted souls both in this country and abroad. His services to the spiritual regeneration of our country were indeed very notable, and it is good that he left behind a number of writings and a number of disciples. After all, the glory of this country consists not so much in military heroes or industrial magnates or political geniuses but saints and seers : *santo bhūmiṁ tapasā dhārayanti.* The saints, by their *tapas,* sustain this world. They are the people who make the world go along. A saintly life is the highest expression of eternal truth. People may discuss it, may talk about it, but only they are entitled to teach it to others who have known it for themselves and who have practised it. *Vicāra* comes first : we must try to find out what the truth of things is. *Ācāra* must come next : we must be able to practise what we preach. Only then can we enlighten others : *pracāra* is the third stage; *vicāra, ācāra, pracāra.*

In Swami Sivananda you had one who knew the truth, practised it and taught others to understand it. It is these people who represent the quintessence of our great culture. You find in the *Mahābhārata* Yudhiṣṭhira telling Vidura : *Bhāgavatāḥ tīrthabhūtāḥ svayaṁ prabho tīrthī kurvanti tīrthāni svāntastena gadāvṛtaḥ :* people like you who are *bhāgavatas,* devotees of God, those whose minds are as transparent as clear water, they make a place sacred. A *tīrtha* is not sacred because someone lived there two thousand years ago. It is sacred because today there are people who embody the teachings he left there. After all, the Ultimate Reality dwells in each individual human being : *śivam ātmani paśyanti na pratimāsu.* You know the Reality to be the inmost being of yourself. When you know that, then all other things become subordinate to the real'zation of your own divinity. The greatness of our culture consists in the fact that it was catholic in its outlook. It appreciated every way of life. You find in the *Bhāgavata : brahmeti paramātmeti bhagavān itī śabdyate.* That non-dual Reality is called *Brahman,* is called *Paramātmā,* is called *Bhagavān.* You call It *Brahman* if you emphasize how It transcends this world of space and time : It is not an object among objects, It does not belong to the space and time world; It is something which transcends it; It is utterly transcendent and so mysterious and ineffable. But that does not mean that you have no access to it. *Paramātmeti :* if you penetrate behind

Speech at the prayer function to pay homage to the memory of Swami Sivananda, Hyderabad, 2 August, 1963

the layers of your life, body, mind and intellect you find there that liquid flame of divine consciousness which animates, informs and inspires all your life. *Paramātmā* means not the *Brahman* which is transcendent but the *ātman* which is immanent in each individual soul. The transcendent *Brahman* becomes the immanent *Paramātmā*. When you look upon it as Lord of the Universe, you call it *Bhagavān*. *Brahman, Paramātmā, Īśvara,* these three names are given to one and the same Reality. *Bhagavān* is not something which can be contracted into a formula—Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śivātmakaḥ. You have there the powers of creation, preservation and destruction. All the three are embodied in that one *Brahman*. Each one of these representations has also its manifold expressions. The *Gītagōvinda* tells us : *daśākṛti kṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṁ namaḥ*. If Viṣṇu assumed ten avatars, so also Śiva, so also everyone of them can assume manifestations and forms to help those in need, and protect them.

The world today is suffering from a secularized, a mechanized outlook. We look upon this world as paramount—the things of this world are undoubtedly necessary—but there is a superior Presence, a higher Reality without which nothing in this world can live or move or have its being. Therefore, everyone has the capacity to own the comforts and consolations which religion offers. Anyone who has no sense of religion is, to that extent, an incomplete human being. A great intellectual, a sophisticated intellectual, one day confessed that his life was incomplete because he had missed the sense of religion, the spiritual direction which is there in every human being. If that is suppressed, man becomes a *narapaśu,* equivalent to an ordinary animal : there is nothing in him which is not possessed by the animals themselves. He must have this spiritual dimension developed in him.

Whatever the fortunes or the vicissitudes of our country may have been, if it has sustained itself all these centuries, it is because it has insisted on this spiritual direction which we should give to all our activities. Because of its comprehensive and catholic character, it has developed this hospitality of outlook, a hospitality which accepts every name of God. You find people saying Ram—Rahim are one; Kṛṣṇa—Karim are one; *mandira masjid tere dhām*. You find there that adequacy of religious apprehension which does not say, "I possess the truth, others live in darkness." We say that all human beings, in so far as they are human, are animated by the Supreme, are never forsaken by God. Invisible arms of the Supreme sustain every individual, however wicked and unfortunate he may happen to be. No one need consider himself to be forsaken by God. Everyone is the child of the Supreme. Everyone has in him the possibilities of growing to the highest spiritual stature. There are people who say *Śivo'haṁ, Śivo'haṁ,* we can become perfect. That is the advice which Christian scriptures give

us, "Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect." When Christ says, "I and my Father are one," he makes out an identification between the individual human soul and the Supreme Reality.

As things stand at present, there is a gulf which separates us from the Supreme. We have to struggle onward and upward. We have to raise our spirits to higher and yet higher levels until we are able to see God face to face and not as through a glass darkly. When we are able to attain that supreme status, only then can we say that our lives have been fulfilled. *Kulaṁ pavitraṁ jananī kṛtārthā vasundharā puṇyavatī :* when does your *kula* become *pavitra ?;* when does your *jananī* become *kṛtārthā ?;* when does the place of your birth become sanctified ? *Apāra saṁvit sukha sāgare*—when you are able to mix your mind, your consciousness, with that shoreless sea of wisdom and bliss. If in that *sāgara* you are able to mix your own consciousness, then it is you can call yourself a fulfilled human being.

It should be the endeavour of everyone who calls himself a human being to think that his evolution is not complete; he is not yet a fulfilled human being; he has to grow upward and onward until he is able to realize God in him, until the imprisoned splendour shines through every one of his activities. That is the lesson which culture has given us. That is the lesson which Swami Sivananda gave us, once again with renewed emphasis, through every one of his activities. It is that lesson which we have to remember every day of our lives.

THE QUALITIES OF TRUE RELIGION

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here this evening and lay the foundation-stone of this Satsang Bhavan.

I had known Swami Sivananda for many years, and early this year I had the opportunity of meeting him and talking to him for a while. He brought spiritual comfort to many people in this country and in other parts of the world. His writings have spread spiritual enlightenment throughout the world. At a time like this when there is so much restlessness of mind, when there is a decline in good manners and there is neglect of moral values, when there is a fall in the standards of our behaviour, it is time we asked ourselves : why does all this happen to be so ? It is essentially because of the rootlessness of the human mind, the inward emptiness which is there crying to be filled; and Swami Sivananda had been trying to the best of his ability to fill this

Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Swami Sivananda Satsang Bhavan, New Delhi, 8 September, 1963

vacuum in men's minds and hearts. We have also to ask ourselves today whether it is not our duty to practise some kind of spiritual meditation and acquire spiritual orientation and develop a new dimension of our own being.

It was said here that Swami Sivananda was an exponent of our great culture. Our great culture has insisted from time immemorial on certain fundamental values. A Swamiji here just pointed out to us that our ancient prayer was : this world is unreal, is dark, is subject to mortality. Is this all, or is there anything behind it ? If this were all, then man's life is worth nothing. Annihilation would be the end of it all. But if there is the Supreme Being informing this whole process, characterizing this process as something which is animated by a purpose, then it is that we will get what is called fearlessness, or freedom from any kind of anxiety.

There is one changeless Being animating the whole existence, bringing about cosmic evolution, trying to develop from matter to life, life to mind, mind to intelligence and intelligence to spirit. We are now at that stage of being when we are merely intellectual beings, proud of our achievements. What is essential is to supplement this intellectual development by spiritual calmness or composure. That is what gives us fearlessness. *Abhaya* is said to be one of the great characteristics of a very emancipated soul. Such a kind of *abhaya* is possible only if we are certain of a Presence behind this cosmic process. When we have it, we will develop immediately the other quality of detachment.

If you are passionately attached to the Supreme, you will get detached from this world and whatever work you perform, you will perform it with a sense of calmness, with a sense of *asaṅga. Saṅga,* or attachment, will disappear. *Abhaya* leads to *asaṅga,* and *asaṅga* leads to *ahiṁsā.* You will then discover that you practise universal love. If there is one Supreme Reality, if we are all hewn from the same rock, if we all spring from the same source, how can there be any kind of distinction between *mitra* and *amitra ?*

The qualities which have characterized our religion from time immemorial are these three qualities of *abhaya,* serenity, tranquillity of spirit; *asaṅga*, detachment; and *ahiṁsā,* or universal love. These are the qualities which characterize an authentically religious man. There are many who pose to be religious today; but if they do not have this serenity or detachment, this universal love, you may take it that they are religious only from their spinal cord, and not from their whole being.

Our country has always exalted these three great qualities. If we have these great qualities, we will be free from greed, jealousy, hatred and from any kind of ill will. We will look upon even our enemy with friendly eyes because we know that the invisible presence of the

Divine will support those people who happen to be hostile to us at the moment. It is that attitude which is characteristic of true religion.

Another feature on which Swami Sivananda's *āśrama* and himself insisted was liberality of outlook. We have always felt that the way in which we approach the Divine, or the name we give to God, are not important. The qualities of mind and heart constitute the test of a truly religious man. We say that the one Supreme Reality is called transcendent *Brahman,* which exceeds space and time. It is also *Paramātmā,* which is the deepest being of your own self. It is also *Bhagavān,* it is the Cosmic Lord. All these three names, *Brahman, Paramātmā, Bhagavān,* represent three different aspects of the One Supreme. God transcendent is called *Brahman,* God immanent is called *Paramātmā,* God, the Divine Lord of this universe, is called *Bhagavān.* There is only One underlying these threefold aspects. They are merely the three statuses of the One Supreme; therefore, we have said it is One. We give various names, and all these names are merely approximations to the Reality, indications. These are used in our own spiritual development.

It does not matter what name you give to God so long as your heart is earnest and your mind's endeavour is persistent. So long as you have these, your experience is truly a religious one. That is why from that time to this time we have said that we do not quarrel about names. We always say, *mandira masjid tere dhām, īśvara allāh tere nām: mandir* and *masjid* are Your abode; *Īśvara,* Allah are Your names.

It is our general hospitality of outlook which has enabled this country to survive from the beginning of our history down to this day. Whenever we passed through critical periods, men appeared who recalled us to our fundamental values and told us how we had deviated from them. Our present sufferings are due to our lapses from the great virtues and values which we cherished. Today also it is necessary, when we are passing through so much anxiety, bewilderment, confusion and torment that we should get back to those values.

I hope that those who practise in this *āśrama* will bear in mind the supreme qualities of our culture and try to propagate them. I have always felt that we must insist on investigation. The country is rationally minded today. You cannot appeal to the world in the name of dogma or authority. It will dismiss all that as superstition. You must have *vicāra,* or logical investigation. And then what is the use of your merely talking about these things? You cannot get *amṛta,* or eternal life, by knowing the text. You must know something more. There must be *ācāra.* Those who are prepared to propagate the truth must be people who have passed through the two earlier stages of *vicārā* and *ācāra.* Only such people are eligible for carrying on *pracāra.*

Therefore it is that in this home, the Satsang Bhavan, I hope our great qualities will be insisted on and that people will be called upon not merely to talk about religion but to practise it in their everyday activities.

I wish this function all success.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF GOD

I AM happy to be here today and see this temple after renovation. It was a great regret to me that I was not able to be here on 28 June last, on the occasion of the *kumbhābhiṣekaṁ*. When I just returned from my foreign tour, I was advised by my doctors not to undertake any long tours again then. Anyway, I am happy, that, thanks to the good wishes of you all and the blessings of Providence, I am all right.

I was listening to some of the chantings here. By the light of that Supreme, all this world shines. The Absolute cannot be described. You cannot express It in terms of human categories. The sun shines not, the moon is not there; the stars are not there. It is so transcendent; It so completely exceeds human comprehension. So what is the next goal we have ? The next goal is to turn within, to look within ourselves. That one Supreme is called *Brahman,* transcendent Reality, *Paramātman,* the innermost Being of your nature; and *Bhagavān,* the cosmic Lord. Here in the Minakshi temple there are the expressions of Siva and *Śakti,* concepts of *Bhagavān.* As Śaṁkarācārya tells us, to such a Bhagavān we come step by step. The transcendent Reality is the highest. It exceeds all human categories. The deepest in ourselves is the only way in which we can comprehend that Reality. We have Bhagavān who assumes different forms to please His devotees. There is no contradiction between these forms. The transcendent Reality, the immanent Reality and the cosmic Principle, these three are different ways of looking at one and the same thing, three statuses of the one Supreme. And so far as descriptions of these are concerned our literature has told us from the earliest times that we should not quarrel over names. The Real is One and the learned speak of It variously. The Upaniṣad says that *Viśvakarmā mahātmā* is stationed in the hearts of all people and that we shape it by our heart, by our imagination and by our will in various forms. So when we understand that the Reality is One expressed in various ways by different people we have what is called a hospitality of all faiths for which this country has been famous from the beginning of history.

Speech at the Minakshi Temple, Madurai, 27 September, 1963

When we talk about secularism, it means only that the State does not identify itself with any one religion but respects all faiths. It does not adopt an attitude of exclusiveness or intolerance towards any faith. It respects everyone who reverently adopts any particular faith. What is sacred to one must be regarded as sacred to all others. We have suffered in this country from a false sense of bigotry, fanaticism, intolerance and exclusiveness. Even today we have not been able to get over the defects of our mind. Spiritual pride and spiritual exclusiveness have been the reason for our suffering and the shame of our subjection. If we are to get out of this rut, we must understand that we are all people of one substance, of which all these are the various shadows. There is no use quarrelling about shadows. To try to penetrate behind shadows and see the substance behind the shadows : if we are authentically religious, that should be our attitude. Those who are religious at second-hand, that is those who have not had an insight into Reality, such people go about saying that you should not do this or that. But the truly religious people have no such quarrels. They belong to the one supreme family, the one household of God. We are all believers and we belong to one category. In a place like this where Sanskrit and Tamil hymns are chanted, we are bringing together different currents of thought and thus establishing social solidarity and national integrity.

I do hope that those who visit this temple will understand the significance of true religious worship, and will feel that it is their bounden duty to adopt good manners and courtesy and to respect the thoughts of other people. When that thing happens, our country will take a great leap forward.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE SPIRIT

FRIENDS : Madras can take legitimate pride in the fact that it was a set of enthusiasts from Madras that sent Swami Vivekananda to Chicago. Bhaskara Setupati, Raja of Ramnad at the time, received him on his return from the Parliament of Religions. Swami Vivekananda gave his address after his return from America on this very site. You may be sure that the Swamiji's life epitomizes the struggle, tragedy and triumph through which all right-thinking individuals pass. He was a student of a missionary institution and read the writings of eminent thinkers of the periods like Herbert Spencer, and found that there was

Speech on unveiling a Memorial Tablet for Swami Vivekananda, Madurai, 28 September, 1963

no justification for blind religious faith. He became more or less an agnostic, if not an atheist. Such experiences are common today among many people. Recently cosmonauts went high above the world and said that they had not come across God. Others said that they had searched the sky with a telescope and had not found God. Biologists who dissect human bodies say : where is the soul ?; there is no such thing as the soul.

Even today, many people intoxicated by the triumphs of science, repudiate the existence of God. A system of philosophy has come into vogue which says that nothing is true which is not empirically verifiable. If you are unable to verify something or know it through the tests of experience, it is not true. The Swamiji approached his Master, Ramakrishna, and asked him : do you see God ? Ramakrishna's answer was : I see God much more intensely and clearly than I see you. In other words, it is not the physical presence but it is the spiritual presence that matters. The Swamiji felt this influence. He felt that Ramakrishna's advice was something which he could neither ignore nor disregard. Here was a man who said that he had seen God in his personal experience. If science is based on experience, here is an experience which a great Master has given. This has been the tradition of this country, however much we may have departed from it times without number. We have always said that the meaning of religion is insight into Reality. The Upaniṣad confirms it : *vedāhametaṁ puruṣaṁ mahāntaṁ āditya varṇaṁ tamasaḥ parastāt.* Veda is vision, is wisdom; it is speculation. In the original sense of the term it is derived from speculum. The soul should see *Brahman,* not by the naked eye but by the spiritual eye; not by *māṁsa cakṣuḥ* but by *divya cakṣuḥ.* Many of us are lost in seeing things with our own physical eyes. We do not recognize that there is a spiritual eye in each one of us which lies dormant, which is not awakened. Many of us pass away without noticing that there is such a thing as an eye of the soul, an eye of the human spirit. We cannot see God even with our intellectual speculation or hypothesis. In that case it is only a hypothesis; it is a mere experience. But we have to see God with the eye of spirit. We must be able to say as Ramakrishna said : I have seen God intensely. In other words, each one of us has the capacity to grow in spiritual stature when God becomes a felt Reality, Whose presence we can encounter face to face. We are sure that the Ultimate Reality is there. The passing shows do not affect the Reality.

You find, therefore, that Swami Vivekananda practised spiritual exercises and meditation so as to be able to say like his Master : I have seen God, I have felt Him in the depths of my being, I have felt Him, I have realized Him. It is not a thing to which we can attain merely by talking. Many of us go to temples, worship God, practise all sorts

of exercises and mutter many *mantras,* and yet God is far away from us. In actual reality, He is not *there;* He is in our hearts. We should transform ourselves, remake ourselves, rid ourselves of our selfish natures. If we are, by systematic practice, by intellectual experience, able to find out the truth, then it is that the vision of God will be felt. What is it that Arjuna had? He had his doubts until at last God gave him a glimpse of *viśvarūpa.* He was lost in the darkness of this world. Just as from the middle of a cloud a flicker of lightning suddenly appears, Arjuna had that experience. He passed through doubts and many torturing circumstances : he did not know whether there was any Reality in this world, whether it was worth while doing his duty. At such a moment, as in the midst of a dark cloud, he had his vision like a flash of lightning. So it is necessary for you to make it a permanent attitude of your mind to pass through much of exercise and practice if you want to make that passing vision into a permanent reality. If you want to make it a true inhabitant of your nature, it is necessary for you to live in God, to live constantly in His presence, to get so completely transformed that there is nothing which you do which is not permeated by the spirit of God. We become merely instruments and, therefore, we so transform ourselves that we become mere instruments of the Divine Presence. Nothing will make us falter.

All this worship and practice of meditation are the means, sometimes indispensable, which many ordinary people adopt to become divine. You will find a man who is superior to time, to death, who is superior to every theory of this temporal world. If you want to get to such a state, these are the possible means by which you can develop the divine possibility which is in you. If you have it, you will have that universality of outlook which Swami Vivekananda insisted on in the Chicago "Parliament of Religions." As Kṛṣṇa said : "Arjuna, think of it, all people in this world are trying to follow Me, follow the steps which will lead to Me; I accept their gifts because they are offered to Me in truth, in sincerity, and in earnestness. I do not care what words they mutter : I see into their hearts. I try to find out what exactly it is that they offer."

It is this doctrine which has come down to us from the early Upaniṣads, from the Vedas to this day. It is this doctrine which Swami Vivekananda announced and affirmed with great eloquence in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. Here is a religion which does not insist on converting people from one religion to another. It does not care what name you give to God. But what He cares for is : are you sincere ?; are you earnest ?; are you really prayerful ? Have you all those thoughts which will make a human individual different and human ? These are what we have to practise today. When people talk about secularism, all that is meant is this doctrine. It does not matter

by what way you approach God; every way leads to Him. So Swami Vivekananda affirmed the universality of the spirit, the universality of all religions. And there are many people in our country even today who think that their duty is done if they secure God for themselves, and then retire to the forests, or get into monasteries, leaving the world to rack and ruin. Here he said, "I am a believer in God, I cannot stand this inequity, this injustice meted out to one section of the people." He called one part of our country a lunatic asylum. He said that much of this religion was confined to practices like what you ate and what you drank but not what you did. Therefore, he became a great social reformer also. He saw the Divine as a whole. He was a man who had faith in universality of outlook, and he affirmed that unless the human individual was able to translate his faith in God into reality, unless ethics became religious action, unless we adopted that kind of attitude with even the most embittered human beings, the most unfortunate human beings, religion had no meaning.

So you find the authentic spirit of religion, the spirit which makes you look into the hearts of people, which makes you find out whether a particular man is cheerful, is loving; all else is nothing. So it was religion as experience, religion as toleration of others, religion as service of man, for which Swami Vivekananda stood. These are the lessons which we have to practise today. I am glad to be here today and open this tablet, and to speak at the same place where Swami Vivekananda did years ago.

THE ABIDING REALITY

FRIENDS: I am grateful for this opportunity to inaugurate this Sammelan. We talk about dharma. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* is asked the question: what is dharma? There was a thunder-clap—*da da da—damyata, datta, dayadhvaṁ—dama, dāna, dayā,* these constitute dharma. If a man is to regard himself as a virtuous man, he should have these three qualities of *dama* or self-control, *dayā* or compassion, *dāna* or charity. If we possess a little of this dharma, we will be protected from every kind of attack—*na hi kalyāṇakṛt kaścit durgatiṁ tāta gacchati: svalpamapyasya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayāt.* If we perform but a little of this dharma, it will protect us from great fear. That is what we have been told. If we are unable to defend ourselves, or if we are unable to protect ourselves against any

Speech at the inauguration of the Rashtradharma Jagṛti Sammelan, Bombay, 26 October, 1963

kind of attack from outside, it is because we are ourselves lacking in this quality of dharma; *yato dharmastato jayaḥ*—wherever you have dharma, you have victory. So if we want to work for victory, we must work for dharma. Dharma literally means that which binds society together. That which divides society, that which disintegrates it, breaks it up into parts or fragments and makes people fight one another making them think that they belong to this or that creed, that is not true dharma. Our scriptures proclaim from the very start that there is only one Reality in this world which is described in different ways—*ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti*. You find the Upaniṣad also telling us, *eṣa devo viśvakarmā mahātmā:* that one supreme Lord dwells in the hearts of all human beings, there are no distinctions there. So far as the presence of God in each human being is concerned, there is no discrimination on the part of God. He is there present in every human heart. Many of us disappear without becoming conscious of this Divine presence. There is a difference between the presence of God and consciousness of that presence. Though God may be present everywhere, all of us are not equally conscious of the presence of God. We, therefore, say that the distinctions of all these different religions should not be regarded as fundamental or final. The Final is the ultimateness of the Supreme. If we are able to have that consciousness of God, it is only then that we can be regarded as religious.

This morning in another context I was speaking of Mahatma Gandhi and said, "By bathing in rivers or worshipping images made of clay and stone, we may attain salvation some time in due course." But a sadhu, a saint, purifies you at sight, *darśanādeva hi sādhavaḥ*. Such people who are called sadhus are not ritualists. They are not people who infer God by philosophical arguments, but they are people who have seen the Divine. The *ṛṣis*, the seers themselves, have felt the reality of God in their own being. They live in the consciousness of the presence of God. Our scriptures have said, *uttamā sahajāvasthā dvitīyā dhyāna dhāraṇā*.

Live always soaked in the nature of God. Do not have one instant of your life separated from God. Whatever you happen to do, do with the consciousness of the Supreme. That is the *sahajāvasthā*. If you are not able to live in the consciousness of God, then you have to practise *dhyāna* and *dhāraṇā*. If even when you are asked to practise that, you are not able to realize the Supreme, a lower stage is *pratimā pūjā*, worship of images. If even then the sense of God cannot be dinned into your ears, *homa* and *yātrā*—that is the graduated scale.

You find, therefore, that our scriptures have always asserted a kind of generous hospitality towards the modes of worship—*homa, yātrā, pratimā pūjā, dhyāna* and *dhāraṇā* are all permitted—but you have to aim at the highest goal of living in the consciousness of the Divine,

sahajāvasthā always, born with you, living side by side with the Divine, looking upon Him as the eternal Presence in your heart. That is the highest kind of religion. That kind of religion does not bother about this, that and the other distinction.

You find a Sikh Guru telling us : *mandira masjid tere dhām, īśvara allāh tere nām.* All the great saints of God are the messengers sent by the Supreme for the purpose of satisfying the aspirations of the human individual. Every saint embodies a little of the light of the Supreme and when that little light spreads over his whole nature and makes of it an eternal flame, a transparent spirit, then you find that that saint becomes a symbol of the Absolute Divine. That is how in our country from the beginning of our history, our people have been trying to rise to the consciousness of the Divine in every activity that they perform. If you have that sense, whatever you do, you will do it with a sense of dedication to the Supreme. You will become a consecrated individual, a dedicated soul, a transformed being; the invisible splendour in you will shine out and become a little rising flame which burns up every kind of impurity and makes of you a symbol of true purity, of utter light. That is why in many cases we are called upon to work in this world with the single spirit of dedication. Whatever waves come upon you in this world, never give up your faith in the Eternal even as a *naṭī* does not give up her attention to the water pot that she is carrying on her head even when she sways in dance to different tunes on the stage.

Dharma is nothing more than this realization of the Supreme and acting even in every small act of your life with that Supreme present in your mind. If you are able to do so, you are performing dharma. If not, if other interests invade you, if you try to translate your mind into other regions, you may think that you are a believer but you are not a true believer. The real believer in God has his consciousness always there, his heart always lifted to the Divine. What the *kīrtana-kāras* and *pracārakas* are doing is merely to enable every nook and corner of our country to throb with this feeling, vibrate with a sense of the Eternal, to make all feel that in this world nothing moves without the presence of the Eternal and the permission and consent of the Eternal.

You have to perform dharma, that is the only obligation you have in this world. Dharma is *paropakāra : adharma* is *parapīḍā.* That is the one simple definition that we have. What is the use of expanding it in a series of books ? If you understand that hurting another man is *adharma,* blessing another man is dharma, you are performing dharma.

I wish this Conference all success.

GURU NĀNAK'S MESSAGE

FRIENDS : I am delighted to be here and participate in the celebrations which you have organized for paying our homage to the great Guru Nānak.

Our country's history has witnessed periods of glory and gloom, triumph and tragedy, victory and defeat. Whenever we passed through gloomy periods, a prophet arose to call us back to the truth, telling us how we had deviated, how in our actual life we had disregarded the teachings of the great seers. Nānak was born in a period of crisis—not political and social, but moral and spiritual. People were lost in the observance of trivialities, the celebration of ceremonial piety and the acceptance of meaningless dogmas, which kept people away from one another, which separated them instead of bringing them together. It was an age of social chaos which was repugnant to the heart of any right-thinking man. Guru Nānak, therefore, emphasized what may be regarded as the central principles of any true religion—inward vigilance and outward efficiency. These are the things on which he laid the greatest stress.

The previous speaker referred to Nānak's emphasis on *oṅkāra*. That is all that he believed in, but what is *oṅkāra?* If you try to find out what *oṅkāra* means, it is a composite of the three : *a u ma, akāra, ukāra, makāra; a* stands for the waking state, *u* stands for the dreaming state, and *ma* for *suṣupti*. All the three taken together, sublimated into one, is *praṅava* or *oṅkāra. Oṅkāra* gives you comprehensive reality. It includes the waking, dreaming and dreamless states of human consciousness. There is no other state of human consciousness. All these are, therefore, merged into one Absolute Reality. Guru Nānak did not quarrel about dogmas because *oṅkāra* has been said to be invisible, qualityless, unexperienceable —*śivaṁ, śāntaṁ, advaitaṁ*. This is the one fundamental Reality, truth is the highest, *sat nām*. God is truth, and there is nothing higher than truth. Nānak also said that if one wished to understand what this truth was, it was essential for him to enter into the secret chamber of his heart. God is not to be found in the sky above, or in the stars there or in the waters here. He is to be found in the deepest part of man's being. It is that man who is truly religious who is God-intoxicated, who is God-possessed, who has seen into the meaning of existence. It is such people who are regarded as religious in our country, not those who mutter *japas* or go to shrines or temples. They may be on the pathway to the Divine, but the man who realizes God is one who sees the Divine in his inmost being. There is a secret dwelling-place in each man's heart where the Divine

Speech at reception held during the birthday celebrations of Guru Nānak, New Delhi, 30 October, 1963

is to be felt, is to be touched and experienced. This is what we should do. Prayers, meditations and spiritual exercises are all methods which are devices for helping us to know the deepest in us. This is what the purpose of all true religion is. This does not mean that we should retire into monasteries or go to mountain tops, lacerate our bodies, torture our minds and give up the world. People who do so are not truly religious. Men who neglect their duties and merely utter the name, Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, are the enemies of God, ignorant people who do not know what Reality is. For the sake of humanity, God himself has taken birth in this world. If He has done that, is it not our duty to express our deepest convictions in our daily life and in our national behaviour?

The time has come when we have to accept Guru Nānak's teachings that names do not matter, that the pathways do not matter. The man who has seen God is truly religious, not those who talk about God and lead atheistic lives. The authentically religious man will never do a thing that is repugnant to his conscience, or that is unholy in any sense of the term.

Guru Nānak told us about *sat nām,* the practice of good conduct, the leading of a good life. That is the highest test; *sat nām* is great, but greater than that is the practice of love, the practice of compassion. That is what he told us. We talk big and practise little. We all constitute the body of God, and anybody who breaks that body, tears it asunder, is an enemy of God. Are we not doing it every day of our lives? Are we not disintegrating the human being? Are we not breaking this human body into pieces and thus crucifying God Himself? That is what we are doing day after day. It is, therefore, necessary for us not merely to remind ourselves of the great teachings of Guru Nānak, *sat nām* and *sadācāra,* but ask ourselves every moment of our lives whether we are really practising the great teachings that we profess. If we do practise them, we will never have these social discriminations, we will never have religious differences. We may start with austerity; austerity will lead to tolerance, tolerance will lead to respect and we will respect what other people hold sacred. Such should be the attitude of a truly religious soul. If you have hatred in your heart, if you have ignorance in your mind, if there is superstition in the dark spaces of your heart, take it from me that you are not a religious man but pretending to be a religious man. A truly religious man will be filled with light, joy and compassion for the whole of humanity.

THE MESSAGE OF THE *BHAGAVADGĪTĀ*

FRIENDS : you have had a good deal of eulogy of me from both Jugal Kishorji and Shri Dasappa and I need not say anything except to thank them for their kind words.

The *Bhagavadgītā* is one of the most universal scriptures of the world. In introducing the English translation by Sir Charles Wilkins, Warren Hastings wrote with great prescience : "When the British Empire is lost in oblivion, when its sources of wealth and prosperity are not remembered, this scripture and the lessons it contains will continue to inspire millions of people in this world." That was the first English translation of the *Gītā*.

The *Bhagavadgītā* recognizes the nature of man, the needs of man, and tries to fulfil all of them. It points out how the human being is a rational one, an ethical one and a spiritual one. All these three aspects constitute the nature of man. Nothing can give him fulfilment unless it satisfies his reason, his ethical conscience; more than all, it must be a spiritual experience. A man who does not possess these different aspects, who does not harmonize them, is not truly human. The question of this world, its nature, whether it has any pattern or not, arises in every thinking mind. If you have a reflective mind, you ask whether this world which is perpetually superseding itself, which is continually passing away, which is being devoured by death—the greatest works of art, the greatest works of architecture, empires, all these things come and go; nations come up to the surface, swim for a little while and sink later. If this all-devouring death is the characteristic of this world, you are bound to ask : is this all, or is there anything beyond it ? This is everlasting, *anādi, ananta,* this is what the nature of the world is. But is there anything eternal ? There is a distinction between the Eternal which is Supreme, unchanging and unchangeable, and the everlasting, which goes on from stage to stage, goes on from one epoch to another. That is the question which arises in all thinking minds. The metaphysical quest, the religious inquiry, starts with this experience of the evanescence, the transitoriness of life, the tyranny of time to which we are all subject. We ask : is time all ? Is death all ? Is annihilation all ? Or is there a timeless element ? Is there a deathless element, an element which devours death, *kāla kālo,* something which devours that *kāla* ? Every religious being asks these questions. The Upaniṣad seer says : lead me from the unreal to the real, from death to immortality, from darkness to light. He recognizes that this world is darkness, transitory, evanescent, unreal. Is there anything real ? Is there anything which supersedes this darkness ? Is there anything which leads us from

Speech at the inauguration of the *Gītā Jayantī* celebrations, New Delhi, 7 December, 1963

death to immortality? That is the query of the Upaniṣads. The great Buddha, when he saw a sick man, an old man, and a man who was also frozen, asked: is there any escape from sickness, old age and death? He saw a dead body, he saw an old body, he saw a sick body. Sickness, old age and death—are these the lot of man, or is there something else? This is what you call *saṁsāra*. Is this *saṁsāra* all, or is there a state which takes us above *saṁsāra*? A recluse whom Buddha met told him:

> *he narapuṅgava janma mṛtyu bhītaḥ*
> *śramaṅaḥ pravrajito'smi mokṣa hetoḥ*

He said, "Best of men, afraid of birth and death which are symbolic of time, I have become a *śramaṇ*, I have become a *parivrājaka* and I am trying to attain *mokṣa*. For the sake of attaining *mokṣa*, I am now going about searching." The Buddha said, "There is a beauty in his countenance, there is satisfaction in his demeanour. This man seems to have caught the truth. May I not also follow the same procedure?"

But this real hunger for reality does not mean that there is a reality. Simply because we want a thing, we cannot be sure that there is something answering to it. It may be wishful thinking. Therefore, as intellectual beings, as beings who are reflective, we want to know whether there is anything corresponding to the desire of the human heart. We are not satisfied with this world; quite true, but is there another world? Is there a reality which satisfies us? That is the question we ask. We can answer that question in different ways. The *Bhagavadgītā* says: *brahmavidyā* is metaphysics, is the knowledge of reality. *Yoga śāstra* is the ethical discipline which should translate that knowledge into realization. When you have the realization, you see God face to face, *Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda*—the confrontation of the human individual by the Supreme. The meeting of the *I* and the *Thou*, *narasakhaṁ nārāyaṇaṁ śaraṇaṁ prapadye*—*narasakha* being the human individual, Nārāyaṇa is the Eternal Companion Who is to be found all through.

When we talk about *brahmavidyā*, we adopt a scientific approach. We look at this world and ask the question whether this world, which has developed from the molten mass of fire and from the amoeba to human beings, to spiritual beings, whether this is a product of chance, is it a matter of accident?; is chaos the ruling principle, is caprice the order of reality? You find that the answer is, "No."

The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* answers this question: it says that we must inquire. The *Brahma Sūtras* tell us: *athāto brahma jijñāsā*: now, therefore, an inquiry into *Brahman*. The *Gītā* tells us: *tadviddhi praṇipātena. Paripraśna* is the logical enquiry. The Upaniṣad calls it *manana*. There is that great chapter in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* which starts by

saying : *bhṛgurvai vāruṇiḥ varuṇaṁ pitaraṁ upasasāra adhīhi bhagavo brahmeti yatovā imāni bhūtāni jāyante yena jātāni jīvanti yat prayantyabhisaṁviśanti tad vijijñāsasva tad brahma tapasā brahma vijijñāsasva tapo brahmeti.*

You will find there the son approaching his father and asking him : is there any reality answering to *Brahman* and what should be the nature of that reality ? Is it something comprehensive, coherent ? Does it make any sense of the mess of this world ? And the father replies : "That from which all things arise, by which they are sustained, into which they are swallowed up, that is the Ultimate Reality. There is no use of my talking to you. *Tapasā brahma vijijñāsasva*—by *tapas,* by austerity, by reflection, you try to understand what the nature of that Reality is. *Tapo brahma,* there is no other Reality here. *Tapas* itself is *Brahman.*" Panini says : *tapa ālocana. Locana* is the first look; *ālocana* is the second look. You try to discover by a review of the nature of this world whether there is anything really permanent, and the answer is there.

Here is a rational survey, a scientific understanding of the nature of experience, an unravelling of the mystery of nature, a penetrating into the heart of Reality and discovering that this world is rooted in a Spirit of bliss, in a Spirit of freedom. It is that that constitutes Reality. Here is no dogma, here is no authority : we do not say, "So and so said this; therefore, accept it." As the Buddha said : "*parīkṣya bhikṣavo grāhyaṁ mad vaco nātha gāuravāt.* Do not accept my words out of *gaurava,* or regard for me; *parīkṣya*—after testing them by logic and putting them to the test of life, then it is that you should discover whether there is any absolute Reality in this world or not."

Theoretical recognition is one thing; practical realization is quite another, *Vākyārthajñānaṁ na amṛtaṁ :* by *vākyārtha jñāna* you can never attain eternal life. You have to refashion yourself, you have to remake your nature, you have to pass through the crucible of life. Unless you are able to do that, you will never reach the truth of what you have learnt by your intellect. Intellectual recognition is quite different from practical realization. If you wish to achieve practical realization, you must allow the truth of things to penetrate into your whole nature. Our human nature is a discordant medley of many elements—body, life, mind, intellect and spirit. These things fight with one another : our life is a scene of conflict, and unless we are able to resolve that conflict and make ourselves co-ordinated human beings, we will never be able to reach the truth of what we have learnt by intellect. Intellectual realization is one thing; practical experience, making it into a consuming fire which so shapes our nature and makes us different from what we are, giving us new eyes to see the whole world with, is something very different.

So *Yoga Śāstra* comes in. After *Brahmavidyā*, metaphysical realization, you have to pass through devotion, meditation, yoga, whatever you may call it. All these exercises are dictated to you so that you may be able to transform your nature and make of yourself a different human being altogether. If you do that, truth will be revealed to you. You stand face to face with the Supreme just as Arjuna stood before Kṛṣṇa. He is there all the time, your Eternal Companion : *vihāra śayyāsana bhojaneṣu;* whatever work you may do, whatever activities you may be engaged in, it will be possible for you to attain direct encounter with the Supreme Reality. You have an insight into the truth of things. When you have that insight into the truth of things, you will recognize that your logical descriptions are inadequate accounts of the nature of the Reality, halting, imperfect, *yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha manas;* and your words are unable to express the name of that Reality. Buddha again says : *anakṣarasya dharmasya.* The truth cannot be expressed by *akṣara.* Others will show you the path : but you alone have to trail the path.

People, therefore, who believe in religion as an experience of truth, as an encounter of the Reality, will never quarrel about the names which they give to God. They will never quarrel about the approaches by which one gets to God. They will tell you that God is there in your inmost heart; He is the secret of your being; He is the Lord of your inner chamber. There He is if you have the perception to see that He dwells there, hidden. Because we have so many other interests in life, He is there unrecognized. If you are able to unveil the secret, you see Him face to face. It is at that moment that you will find that God has possessed you. It is not a question of your trying to get at God, not a question of your having an idea; but the idea must have you, God must take hold of you, possess you, make you a different being altogether.

This is what has given this hospitality, this breadth of view to our culture. It is the thing which makes us believe that we must have a rational knowledge, metaphysics, or *brahmavidyā.* We must pass through the ethical discipline or *yoga śāstra.* Then we will have *Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda*—the direct communion of the human soul with the Divine. When we have that, we will be different men.

You may be a *yogī,* you may be a *bhogī.* You may be like this or like that. But your one essential thing will be that you will be clothed in the Supreme; your great anchorage will be in the Divine, and whatever you do will reflect the nature of the Divine. No doubt will paralyse your mind, no kind of desolation will overtake you.

Each man will have to pass through this great conflict as in the *Arjuna viṣāda yoga.* No man who does not doubt or despair is truly alive. It was Jesus who said "My God, My God, why hast Thou

forsaken me ?" It is Draupadi who cried out when she was in great distress : "I do not have my husbands here. Not even You, O God : you have all deserted me. I stand alone in the nakedness of my loneliness, of my utter dependence." It is at that moment that the Supreme takes hold of you, takes you out and fashions your nature.

Therefore, you have in the *Bhagavadgītā* a thing which is rational, ethical and spiritual. Every side of human nature is answered by it, is fulfilled by it. It is a wise thing for you to have a conference where you are going to study the *Gītā* and its meaning for the modern world.

THE HERITAGE OF ALL MANKIND

I HAVE great pleasure in inaugurating the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists. I welcome the delegates, especially those who have come from abroad to attend this Congress. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that for the first time this Congress is meeting in Asia and in our capital, New Delhi.

Delhi itself offers to the investigators glimpses into past civilization. We may say that even a thousand years before Christ we had here, in this locality, Indraprastha on which today stands Purana Qila (Old Fort). The city bears the impress of successive civilizations, especially those of the Yaudheyas, the Kushanas, the Moghuls and the British.

The Sections into which the Congress is divided, and the subjects to be discussed in these Sections, cover a vast field of the civilizations which have grown up in Egypt, Babylon, Syria, Iran, Israel, West Asia and South-East Asia. These civilizations made contributions which are now the heritage of all mankind. Though each of them had literary, artistic, philosophic and religious expressions, some of them became more prominent than others in the different cultures. Egypt developed geometry and established the calendar. Babylon laid the foundations of astronomy. India gave numerals and the decimal to the world. Iran and Israel laid emphasis on the law of righteousness. The values for which the cultures of these great lands have stood have also affected all civilizations, Greek and Roman, modern European and American. Even in periods when means of transport and communication had not been developed, oriental civilization penetrated into the West. Iran and Greece were in contact with each other and many Indians found their way to Greece through this contact. Aśoka's

Address at the inauguration of the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi, 4 January, 1964

missions to the West and Alexander's influence on Egypt, Iran and North-West India produced a cross-fertilization of cultures.

We have a story of the meeting of Socrates and an Indian visitor, reported by Aristoxenus and repeated by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*. When the Indian visitor found that Socrates was interested in the development of human personality, he said that there could not be fulfilment of human personality without adequate attention to the spiritual dimension of man. Consequently, secular humanism required to be sustained by spiritual wisdom.

We have again the report of a conversation between Alexander and Dandamis, reported by Palladius, and translated into Latin by St. Ambrose in the fourth century A.D. I just read an English translation of it published a few weeks ago. Alexander was greatly struck by the austerity of life and the majesty of the philosophical wisdom of the Indian thinker. The Indian told Alexander that natural desires are quenched easily : thirst by water, hunger by food. But the craving for possessions is an artificial one; it goes on unceasingly and is never fully satisfied. "But, thirst being a natural desire, if you drink the water you thirst for, your desire for it ceases. Similarly, if feeling hungry, you receive the food you seek, your hunger comes to an end. If then, man's appetite for gold were on the same natural level, no doubt his cupidity would cease as soon as he obtained what he wished for. But this is not the case. On the contrary, it always comes back, a passion never satiated, and so man's craving goes on without end, because it does not proceed from an inclination implanted by nature."[1]

Manu refers to the substance of this :

na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati
haviṣā kṛṣṇavartmeva bhūya evābhivardhate[2]

Desire is never satisfied by the enjoyment of the objects of desire; it grows more and more as does the fire to which fuel is added.

Alexander abandoned the view that the non-Greek world was barbarian and that its people were fit only to be slaves. All men possessing wisdom and virtue are of one family. Plutarch says that Alexander brought together into one body all men everywhere, uniting and mixing in one great loving cup, as it were, men's lives, their characters, their marriages, their very habits of life. He looked upon the whole inhabited world as his fatherland. All good men are of one family; the only foreigners are the wicked. Alexander felt that it was his sacred mission to reconcile mankind. In Egypt, in Iran, in North-West India, he felt the impact of the great civilizations of the East and looked upon

[1]The *Brahman Episode* (ET) S. V. Yankowaki, pp. 21-23
[2]*Manu* II, 94

them as worthy partners of the Hellenic civilization. Shortly before his death Alexander held a banquet to celebrate the end of a great war, and he invited to it 9,000 people—Hellenes and non-Hellenes. At the end of it he prayed for peace, for the partnership of all peoples of the world to live in amity and concord. *Homo-noia,* of one mind; the world should be based on a communion of minds and hearts.

It is the same task which is set before us today : that the world should get together with a heightened sense of the dignity of man and the brotherhood of peoples. In recent times, the study of oriental civilizations has accelerated this process. Sir William Jones, who was a Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1784, started a revolution in the study of oriental civilizations. He was himself a student of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. He affirmed the affinity of many of the European languages with Sanskrit. The similarities of European languages and Sanskrit indicate the extent of the agreement reached by different peoples in the matter of economic organization, religious thought and social structure.

Professor Gordon Childe writes : "It would be absurd to suggest that any two tribes living, say, in Greece and India and speaking quite unconnected dialects, on reaching the same level of development should have hit upon such similar words for 'father,' 'fall,' and 'five' and inflected them in such similar ways as the Vedic Indians and the Homeric Greeks did in fact do. The primitive culture must be the stage of development reached by several peoples while living sufficiently close together to communicate."[1]

These similarities suggest that the two peoples, the ancient Greeks and the Vedic Indians, must have been in communication with each other, though neither possessed any recollection of those times and they met as strangers when both areas became part of the Persian Empire.

Today, all the peoples of the world form a close neighbourhood, thanks to the inventions of science and the devices of technology. Transport and communication have resulted in the meeting of cultures, races and religions. The only attitude that we can adopt in the present context is an attitude not of exclusiveness but of comprehension, not of intolerance but of understanding, not of hatred and fanaticism but of appreciation and assimilation of whatever is valuable.

Mankind has stemmed from one root, though it is split up into different communities. It is now striving for the recovery of its basic unity and the reconciliation of different cultures. The history of the new world, of One World, promises to be rich in range, and majestic in its scope; and we in this Congress can contribute effectively towards the achievement of this goal of humanity.

[1]*The European Inheritance.* (1954), Vol. I, p. 84

Many leading intellectuals of the world have been influenced by Indian thought, notably Schopenhauer, Paul Deussen and Keyserling in Germany, Professor Winternitz and Professor Lesny in Czechoslovakia, Emerson, Thoreau and Whittier in America, Sylvain Levi in France, Sherbatsky in the Soviet Union, Colebrooke, Cowell, Hodgson, Macdonell and Thomas in Britain and literary figures like Yeats and A.E. in Ireland. I am mentioning merely a few prominent names which occur to me now.

We are living in a period of disintegration of faith and growing disillusionment about the traditional values which have come down to us. All eras of transition are periods of disintegration and renewal. People nurtured in the spirit of science and ethical humanism are unwilling to accept anything on authority. So in many parts of the world people are giving up their traditional faith. In this situation, the values for which this country has stood may be of some relevance. The Indian tradition asks us to accept nothing on trust or authority, but to test everything by experience. Religion is direct encounter with the Supreme Reality and insight into the mystery of things, into the meaning of existence. It is *anubhava* or *saṁsparśa* of the Divine. This is the state of awakening according to the Buddhists, of *metanoia* or change of consciousness according to the Christians. Once we possess this authentic spirit of religion, which we feel in the pulse of our being, we realize that those who have attained it form one spiritual kingdom. The experience is ineffable : the Supreme is incapable of being expressed in logical propositions or linguistic symbols. So its different stages are described as the Transcendent Reality, the Deepest Self or the Cosmic Lord—

brahmeti paramātmeti bhagavāniti śabdyate

The Transcendent is God above all gods—*devāti deva.* We will discover Him in the depths of our being. So He is *paramātman.* He is also worshipped as the Lord of the World. There is the confrontation of *I* and *Thou,* the World and God. These varying accounts do not constitute conflicting descriptions but express different orders of being of the Supreme. Men may come from east and west, be of this religion or that, but they are of the one family of God; the pathways we tread, the names we give, fade away into insignificance when we stand face to face in the glowing light of the Divine. When we touch the flame of the Divine, a generous hospitality to different creeds and forms arises. We always have reverence for the inaccessible core of another human being, the potential divinity that dwells wrapped up in another human soul. Naturally, such a religion requires us to recognize the potential spiritual possibilities of the human being and to discard the artificial distinctions which man-made institutions have inflicted on

human beings as also the shackles of serfdom and helotry. A truly religious man will spend his life in the service of the unfortunate, the unregenerate, the ignorant, the poor and the destitute. According to the Indian traditions—Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh—he who conquers himself is a greater conqueror than one who conquers in battle a thousand times a thousand men. The so-called stress on asceticism is not to be associated with a negative attitude. It is one of positive participation in the work of the world. If God is the Creator of the world, we participate to some extent in His nature. We are co-creators with the Divine. Our duty is not to escape from time but to establish our superiority over the tyranny of time. It is the concept of redeeming the world by men whose hearts are emancipated by love. World redemption, *sarvamukti,* has been the consistent theme of Hindu and Buddhist religious classics. Both Hindu and Buddhist thought agree in asking us to overcome anger by love, evil by good, greed by liberality, falsehood by truth. A religion of this type is rational, ethical and spiritual, and its essence is to be found in all human beings. Every human being has rational, ethical and spiritual sides. It is wrong to think that some people are rational and others spiritual.

Every religion has to live up to this high quality of spiritual adventure, or it will fade away. It is this religion that we require in the contemporary situation.

Today, the world is eager for the development of a world community based on unity and harmony as distinct from unanimity and uniformity. We have to remember what the great teachers of the world have affirmed : that all men are brothers, and that their differences are not to be obliterated but are to be fostered and sustained by mutual understanding. We must learn from other peoples' beliefs and experiences. We have come to realize that conflicts between countries can no more be settled by wars, which are devastating in their character. There are no losers or winners, no victors or vanquished, in modern war. The differences require to be reconciled in a larger understanding of human depth and its varied expression. Through sheer political folly and fanatical zeal for our own view, we may bring about the end of the world. We must learn to be loyal to the whole human race. Exclusive loyalty to an individual nation or group or creed is not enough in the present world.

You, the explorers of the art, literature and thought of the world's varied cultures, you have a more decisive voice in shaping the minds and hearts of the people than even political leaders. Let us dedicate ourselves today, in the spirit of scholarship which knows no frontiers, and which, if genuine, breeds humility and tolerance, to the task of building a new world, to ridding ourselves of every trace of hatred, intolerance and fanaticism of every variety. Let us move forward to

a great meeting where we respect every man, every race, every culture, every creed. The world craves for fellowship. The spirit of this land, from the time of the Ṛg Veda till today, asks us to move together to develop common ideals and purposes :

saṅgacchadhvaṁ saṁvadadhvaṁ saṁ vo manāṁsi jānatāṁ
samāno mantraḥ samitiḥ samānī samānaṁ manaḥ saha citta meṣāṁ
samāni va ākūtiḥ samānā hṛdayāni vaḥ
samānamastu vo mano yathā vaḥ susahāsati[1]

Meet together, talk together :
May your minds comprehend alike :
Common be your action and achievement :
Common be your thoughts and intentions :
Common be the wishes of your hearts
So may there be union amongst you.

[1]Ṛg Veda : 10, 192

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

UNIVERSITIES AND TEACHERS

MR Chancellor, Chief Minister, Vice-Chancellor, Your Highness and friends : I am happy to be associated with the inauguration of the Punjabi University.

The impact of Western culture and civilization had led to a cultural renaissance throughout the country, which was accelerated by political emancipation. There was a resurgence of regional languages and naturally Punjabi, which is one of the recognized languages of the country according to the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India and which has had a great literature, called for development. It has been the policy of the Central Government to promote the development of all regional languages.

In pursuance of this policy the State Government appointed a Commission on 5 August, 1960, under the Chairmanship of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. It submitted its Report on 13 February, 1961. The Punjabi University Act received the assent of the Governor on 1 November, 1961. Today we are formally inaugurating the University at Patiala, already well known for its varied educational activities in arts and sciences, medicine and engineering. Inaugurating this University in this cricket field, which has seen great cricketers from all parts of the world, gives it a touch of universality which is an essential feature of a university.

We have many universities in our country. Some are known by the names of their founders : Annamalai University, Sayaji Rao University, Osmania University; others by the religious faiths associated with them : Banaras Hindu University, Aligarh Muslim University; many are, however, known by the names of the towns in which they are located : Agra, Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Gorakhpur, Jabalpur, Jadavpur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kurukshetra, Lucknow, Madras, Nagpur, Poona and Saugar; some are known by the names of the States to which they belong : Andhra, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Mysore, Utkal. I have not exhausted the list. In this State you have three types of universities : one named after the State, the Panjab University; one after the town, Kurukshetra University; the third one after the language, this University. I hope that this will not make the University a closed community. Your Chief Minister has just said that Punjabi language and literature are based on Sanskrit and that the other languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule are its sisters. You hope to make provision for the study of Sanskrit and Hindi.

The aims of this University include not only the advancement of Punjabi studies, but also the development of sciences and humanities

Inauguration of the Punjabi University, Patiala, 24 June, 1962

and the promotion of higher education and research. The people of the Punjab are well known for their effective contribution to the freedom struggle and the industrial development of the country. Their qualities of enterprise and efficiency, their capacity for hard work and sacrificial living are needed today more than ever. We should not dissipate our energies in minor squabbles and group conflicts, and academic institutions should be kept free from political and communal prejudices.

Education should be imparted with a view to the type of society that we wish to build. We are working for a modern democracy built on the values of human dignity and equality. These are only ideals; we should make them living forces. Our vision of the future should include these great principles.

The University will be open to all citizens, men and women of the country, irrespective of religion and race, birth and domicile. Punjab has been for centuries open in mind and heart. It has been the home of the great Vedas. It welcomed the Greeks and the Macedonians. It now represents the composite culture of India based on the oneness of God and the brotherhood of man. The great Sikh Gurus were opposed to obscurantism and excessive traditionalism. They advocated the abolition of caste and other social inequalities and pleaded for a single family on earth.

Indian thought from its very start, like Greek thought in its origin, has recognized the mystery of the Supreme and accepted a variety of pathways to its understanding. The Greek thinkers look with surprise and wonder at everything that is as it is, as the basis of spiritual enlightenment. The beginning of all philosophy is in this sense of wonder. Greek "theory" is the prolongation of this wonder. It is speculation, vision of unveiled truth, the beholding of this mystery. Greek thought is articulation or conceptualization of the initial wonder. These concepts may vary, but the vision is the same. This is the view of Indian thinkers. "I am neither Hindu nor Mussulman. I am the worshipper of the formless, of *nirākār,*" says Nānak. When we forget this, we get involved in little things. I hope that the University will train students to recapture the original vision.

If education is to help us to meet the moral challenge of the age and play its part in the life of the community, it should be liberating and life-giving. It must give a basic meaning to personality and existence and equip us with the power to overcome spiritual inertia and foster spiritual sensitivity.

Teachers have a great deal to do with the shaping of the minds and hearts of our youth. This is so obvious that it does not need repetition, but in spite of much repetition we do not seem to have a real understanding of the place of the teacher in the present context. We speak of national integration, of peaceful approach to the problems that

face us, but these cannot be realized by mere preaching. We have to be educated to a realization of it. We must check the spread of separatist activities. We should not lower the standards of rectitude. Teachers by their *ācāra,* or conduct, should be an example to the students. Good conduct is produced only by a wise self-restraint. Nowhere does the superior mind disclose itself better than in self-restraint.

It is my hope that this new seat of learning may produce men and women who will live, love and create a co-operative commonwealth. This is a matter of slow growth. Each one of us associated with the University should work for this goal.

PURPOSE IN LIFE

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here this morning and declare open these new buildings.

I congratulate all those associated with this School on the success which has attended their efforts.

Actually in our country, education, so far as girls' education is concerned, is not widespread enough. So every institution which contributes to the education of girls is worthy of recognition and encouragement. But I am anxious that the kind of education that is imparted must not only be broad but should also be deep. We are lacking in depth. We may become learned and skilled, but if we do not have some kind of purpose in our life, our lives themselves become blind, blundering and bitter. The *Gītā* says : *vyavasāyātmikā buddhir ekeha.* For a truly cultured mind, there is a single-mindedness, a dedication to a single purpose. For the uncultured mind, the whole life is scattered in many directions, *bahuśākhā hyanantāśca.* Therefore, it is essential that the education which you acquire in these institutions should give you not merely learning and skill but endow you with a definite purpose in life. What that purpose is, you have to define for yourselves. It is said that *vidyā* gives you *viveka, vimarśarūpiṇī vidyā* gives you a sense of what is right and helps you to avoid what is wrong. You must try, therefore, to find out what is required of you in this generation. A purpose which held good centuries ago may not hold good today in view of the rapidly changing conditions of our country and of the world. So the purpose which you adopt in your life must be adapted to the relevant needs of the present generation, and I hope that this institution will give you that.

Speech at the opening of the new building of Sri Prasanna Gajanana Girls' High School, Hyderabad, 22 July, 1962

Every time we start, we use our hymns and end with saying *śāntiḥ, śāntiḥ, śāntiḥ.* The teacher and the pupils are expected to avoid hating each other. Compassion, *dayā,* is the quality which is more characteristic of women than of men. I read recently a book which speaks about the decline of womanhood, and says that this is so because there is a decline in compassion. In other words, the natural quality of woman is compassion. If you do not have compassion, you are not human. It is, therefore, essential for every human being to develop the quality of considerateness, kindness and compassion. Without these qualities we are only human animals, *nara paśu,* not more than that.

Your report said that communion with great minds is essential for true education. There is a famous verse which tells us *saṁsāra viṣa vṛkṣasya.* In this imperfect world, *saṁsāra,* there are two fruits of inimitable quality. They are the study of our great classics and communion with great minds. These two are the things which mould men's minds and hearts. I am anxious that in institutions like this our great classics should be studied, the classics of all countries of which we are the inheritors. It is in a small dialogue in a Upaniṣad that a question is put : what constitutes the essence of the good life? The teacher replies : didn't you hear the answer? There was a thunderclap : *da da da.* Immediately the teacher explained that these were the essence of good life—*dama, dāna, dayā.* They constitute the essentials of the good life. You must have *dama* or self-control, restraint, which is the mark of a human being. In the *Rāmāyana,* when Lakshmana sets out for the forest his mother tells him : "Look upon Rama as your father Dasaratha; look upon Sita as myself, as your mother; look upon the forest as Ayodhya; go, my dear."

There are ever so many thrilling stories in our classics which will instil into us great moral strength, which will lay down for us the lines on which we have to conduct ourselves.

Give us good women, we will have a great civilization.
Give us good mothers, we will have a great nation.

I wish you well.

THE WRITERS' ROLE IN A CHANGING INDIA

I AM happy to be here and say a few words to you. I am sorry that the Prime Minister is unable to be with us on account of other pressing engagements. We miss him a great deal, for he is a

Address to the Writers' Conference, Mysore, 3 August, 1962

writer of eminence who has made a great impact on contemporary society. His leadership of the present silent, bloodless revolution in our country is an inescapable influence.

In this revolution which is felt in every phase of our life, the writers' role is important. By their shining phrases, memorable utterances, by their living words, *rasātmakaṁ vākyaṁ,* they change men's minds. Writers of such quality are the conscience of the community. They express the tension between the past and the future, between the dream and the fact. They are not only the products of the past and possessors of the present but are the creators of the future. They have in them the imaginative quality, the dreaming temper, which transcends the fact as it is and holds up the vision of what the fact should be. The transcendent in them makes them love truth and mercy, and abhor wickedness and violence.

The themes selected for discussion include *The Writer and Contemporary India* and *East-West Dialogue.* Whatever I may say will have a little relevance to these topics. The point about contemporary India is that, unlike contemporary Egypt and contemporary Greece which, though inhabiting more or less the same geographical areas, are quite distinct from the civilizations of ancient Egypt and Greece, it not only occupies almost the same geographical area but is continuous with the past and bears allegiance to the same values which ancient India developed. It has endured because it has received alien influences which it adapted to its own traditional framework. When we read our great writers, we listen to the same heart-beats, the same universal ideals which we are struggling to embody in our social life.

Our leaders, among whom are the writers, are oppressed by the disjointed factual order. We claim a spiritual inheritance that reaches back many centuries but it is in conflict with the obvious facts of our life. We cannot reconcile with our spiritual orientation the religious tensions which are ready to break out into mob violence, the group antagonisms based on caste or language which sometimes lead to rioting and bloodshed. The pain and degradation of untouchability, the acceptance of social ills and the practical worship of evil outrage our humanity, and yet we acquiesce in them. In 1947, when freedom was achieved, our country was torn and bleeding. What happened then is a blot on our good name.

All this is due to our straying away from the spirit of our culture, to its distortion if not its falsification.

The way of religion is the remaking of man, a complete reversal of the ordinary self-seeking attitude of mind towards our fellow men and nature. It is the integrating of the human being. This introduces an entirely new sense, a new set of values. When this

happens the Infinite is revealed in the finite. The whole creation waits for this revelation with eager longing. It is the promised land.

Religion is a way of life which has for its end a profound spiritual transformation. Religion is not a theory or a sentiment but a vital experience, the result of an assiduous practice in inward purification. We should not mistake the means for the end.

The Divine truth is revealed through human media, through their imagination, intelligence and will, *hṛdā manīṣā manasā.* Quarrels of "superior" and "inferior" become subordinate. This is the view of ancient India as well as of ancient Greece.

There are movements towards Christian Union, Islamic Union, etc. It is time we thought of a union of all believers, which is the essential basis for *loka-saṁgraha* or world solidarity. At a time when nations refuse to share their scientific knowledge and through sheer intransigence threaten the whole of humanity with disaster, the peoples of the world may seek to find unity at the spiritual level. In January, 1962, a remarkable meeting took place at Rome under the Presidentship of Cardinal Bea, appointed by Pope John XXIII head of the Secretariat of Christian Unity. The representatives included Catholics, orthodox Christians, Jews and members of several other creeds. In the course of his speech of welcome the Cardinal said that those present were united by a deep faith in one God, the Creator of the Universe, the Ruler of all nations and the Inspirer of all that is true, good and beautiful. If we have a wide-open heart, the hearts of others are open to us. This great reading out to others is not an act of diplomacy but the result of an inner conviction that we all are the children of one God. Aśoka, Harsha and Akbar were moved by this deep conviction which underlies the spirit of our Constitution. Truth alone prevails, *satyameva jayate;* Aśoka's words, *samavāya eva sādhuḥ,* are valid for all time.

The word "secularism" does not occur in our Constitution, though it is used to symbolize the spirit of our Constitution in regard to religion. We permit everyone to profess, practise and propagate his views so long as his conduct does not interfere with the equal liberty of others to do the same, does not undermine the social order or offend moral sense. What is called secularism is a recognition that each one should be allowed to seek his way to fulfilment as he chooses. This is recognized in theory but we should establish it in practice if we are to get rid of communal conflicts.

Democracy is based on the faith in the dignity and value of the individual. The Divine is in man; the ray of the celestial light is in each one of us. The four great sayings, the *mahāvākyas* taken from the four Vedas, emphasize the Divine in man :

prajñānam brahma, the conscious Intelligence is *Brahman.*
aham brahmā'smi, I am *Brahman.*
tat tvam asi, that art thou.
ayam ātmā brahma, this self is *Brahman.*

They emphasize the indwelling of the Divine in us, which is behind the apparatus of body, mind, heart, imagination and intellect. It is this that impels us to move forward and reach complete fulfilment.

The spirit of dharma is love. It requires us to be compassionate, to be forgiving, to forbear judging. The great ones, the seers, saints and prophets are those who are courageous, confident; sometimes in tears, they still serve their fellow men irrespective of their caste, community or nation. They are universal men, who are interested in the welfare of all beings—*loka-kalyāṇa.* They share in the joys and sorrows of others as if these were their own. This is to love thy neighbour as thyself.

If religious people indulge in practices which are sometimes inhuman, repugnant to our ethical sense, if they sanctify intolerance and hatred, it is because they are religious only in name. They are content with metaphysical subtleties, academic abstractions, dogmatic conformity, ceremonial piety and group loyalties. The way in which we profess to be religious hides from us the face of the Divine. It is mechanical, soulless and sectarian. The man of intellectual knowledge, *mantravit,* is not the man of self-realization, *ātmavit.* The latter realizes the unity of all beings in God. If we do not treat human beings with respect and dignity, if we show ourselves to be lacking in sensibility and feeling and believe that we are pleasing God thereby, we degrade not only ourselves but even God.

The divisions of caste and community are exploited because millions suffer from unemployment and some from under-employment. If the economic level is raised, the exploitation of these separatist feelings will diminish. We must strive to build a higher form of social existence. The process of building up a nation out of diverse elements is an endless one. We should carry on with this endeavour and not allow worries, tumult, incoherence and selfishness to take hold of us. Religious people will work for the removal of inequalities—economic, social and religious. To this creative process, the writers can make a significant contribution.

SOCIAL VISION AND SPIRITUAL UNITY

I AM grateful to the Chancellor, the Pro-Chancellor and the Chairman of the Municipal Council of Chidambaram for their gracious words of welcome to me on this occasion of my visit to this city.

You have referred to the sanctity of Chidambaram, how learning and art are controlled, so to say, by a spiritual outlook. You have referred to the Mathematics and Psychology Departments which were to be mainly located in the Arts and Science buildings, though for other reasons some other departments like Agriculture and Sociology now find their habitation there.

This temple, if it means anything, means that there is one Supreme Reality, incomprehensible, and which cannot be described in words or expressed in a logical concept. It also implies that no religion is complete if it does not establish a satisfactory social order, abolishing social inequalities. Nandanar's association with this temple is a warning to us that so long as we insist on artificial distinctions which discriminate against communities, classes or sects, it cannot be regarded as satisfactory. What is said to be *Chidambara rahasya* is the mystery of Godhead, a mystery which cannot be described in words.

Mathematics is one of the basic sciences, one of the things which are instrumental for all advanced research. We in this country have made fundamental contributions to it by the decimal system of notation, by the placing of numerals and by the discovery of the zero. Till recently we had continuously made very valuable contributions. You all know the name of Ramanujan; his researches in mathematics, the theory of numbers which he formulated, constitute a subject for advanced study in Cambridge University. In him we have an illustration of how greatness is due to the combination of genius and opportunity. He was a great genius but in an impoverished environment. If he had not been given the opportunity, he would have passed away unnoticed. But he was lucky in getting it both at Madras and Cambridge Universities, with the result that so long as science and mathematics are studied, Ramanujan's name will be associated with them.

That is the history of our contribution to mathematics. I would appeal to the youngsters today to hold such examples before them. Other forms of greatness are easy to accomplish by manoeuvring, by intrigue, by exploitation. But true greatness can be achieved only by concentrated endeavour, selfless dedication, the setting aside of every kind of petty personal preference, the eliminating of yourself and getting absorbed in the subject. That is difficult to achieve. It requires discipline and it is this discipline which students are expected

Speech at Annamalai University, 5 August, 1962

to achieve when they are members of educational institutions. Your career here will be futile, will be trivial, if you are not developing this kind of concentration, the spirit of disciplined dedication to your special subject.

The Municipal Chairman referred not only to the piety of the place but to the way in which the different arts have been developed here. Art itself is a means for the realization of the Divine. It is the means by which you are able to grasp the mystery of the Eternal. Art is not merely for the purpose of your entertainment or even education. It is there to produce in you a spirit of satisfaction, to make you different from what you happen to be. Art is not divorced from religion in any sense of the term.

Talking about psychology, there are different ways in which we approach the problem of religion. There is the metaphysical, there is the logical, and there is the spiritual, there is also the psychological approach to religion. In one of our early Upaniṣads the author distinguishes the different grades of confluences—*akāraṁ, ukāraṁ* and *makāraṁ,* the three put together is *oṁkāraṁ.* *Akāraṁ* is wakeful consciousness, *ukāraṁ* is *svapna, makāraṁ* is *suṣupti.* There is yet another state of aesthetic consciousness, a state which is called *turīya śivaṁ śāntam.* It is the highest state, the state when you transcend the waking consciousness, the dreamless state in which you are face to face with the Ultimate Reality, which is something which cannot be expressed in words. You find it symbolized by the *Chidambara rahasya,* the mystery of Godhead. If it is understood, if it is explained, it ceases to be a mystery. The man who has no sense of mystery is not truly a human being. The sense of wonder is what characterizes a human being. No doctrine can give you an idea of the Reality. It is like a flame which is passed on from man to man; conceptualism of the Reality—that is something which is subordinate and is not the primary thing. The primary thing is the personal communion with the Ultimate Reality, what is called in the *Bhagavadgītā Kṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāda.* It is not a question of dialogue; it is the communion of the individual soul with the Supreme Reality. It is something which cannot be given expression to. You may call it *vedāntavedyaṁ.* The way in which you describe it depends on you. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* tells us that the one Ultimate Reality is called *Brahman,* something which transcends space. It is something which is impressed in the Reality.

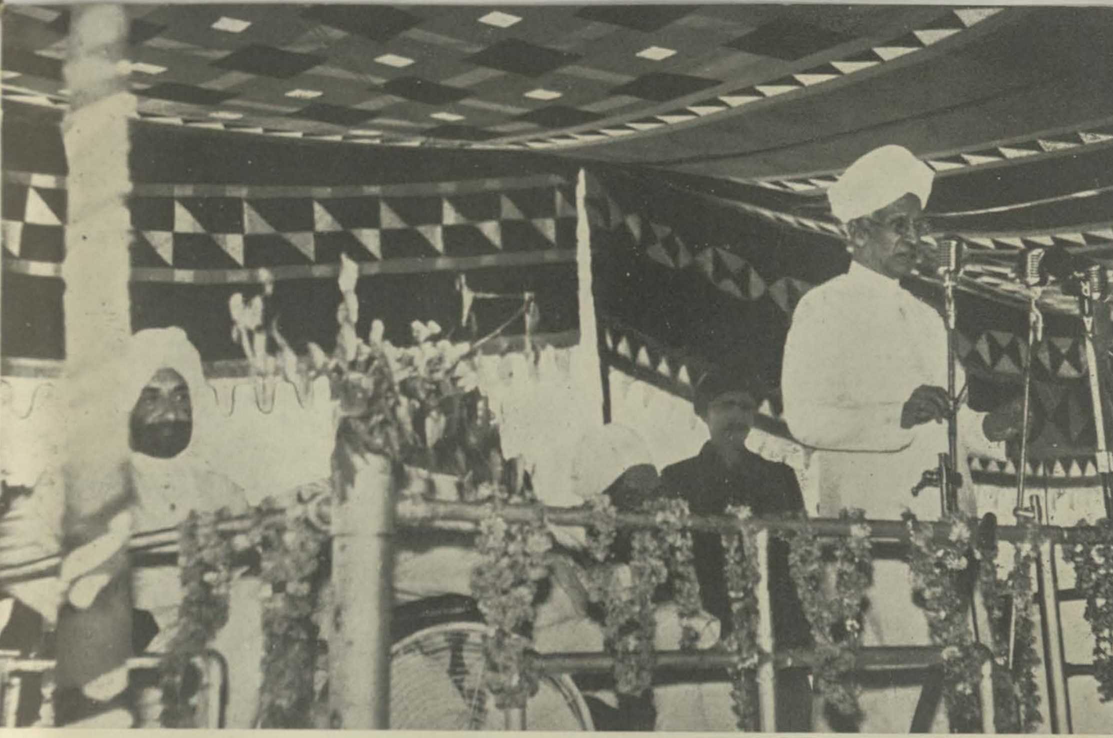
The symbol of Nataraja is to be found in practically every school from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. Wherever you go, whenever they open a dance, drama or dance school you find there the image of Nataraja in different postures, different ways of *Bharata nāṭyaṁ.* These are all depicted on the walls of the Nataraja temple here.

Why are we quarrelling about names today, the names which we should give to the Lord? We know that God is Supreme, is transcendent; there is no man who does not admit the reality of God. What is it that the scientist does? When the scientist is trying to penetrate the mystery of the world of nature, he makes himself a dedicated servant of truth. We regard the Supreme as *satya svarūpī*. Every devotee of truth, every student of science, is automatically a servant of truth and God. Every artist is trying to establish some kind of connection between the effable objects of this world and the eternal mystery which they can reveal. There is no such thing as an aspect of life which is divorced from this ultimate mystery in which it is rooted. Nothing can move in this world, nothing can breathe in this world if there were not this Ultimate Reality; but for It, the whole world would be a mere labyrinth, a maze.

We recognize that the mystery is ineffable and that the qualifications, the distinctions that we give are merely inadequate expressions, some legendary. When a controversy arose whether it is God Śiva or God Viṣṇu who is supposed to be superior, the answer is given: "We are Śaivites, no doubt about it. We are chanting the Śiva *mantra* every morning. Still our minds run after the Lord of the *gopis*." There is no fundamental distinction. That is what the Ultimate Reality is. And then we have so many names which we give to God and we give them according to our pleasure—we call the names *iśta devatās*. Even Śamkarācārya tells us that God comes to us in the form in which we worship Him to satisfy the desire of our heart.

To quarrel about names, to have communal divisions, communal conflicts and say, "My God is superior to yours," is a sign of illiteracy and ignorance. Until we realize that, we will not avoid communal divisions and conflicts in this country. Here in Chidambaram you have both Śiva and Viṣṇu concepts; you will be able to realize that there is no difference between the two: the two are but aspects of the one Absolute Reality.

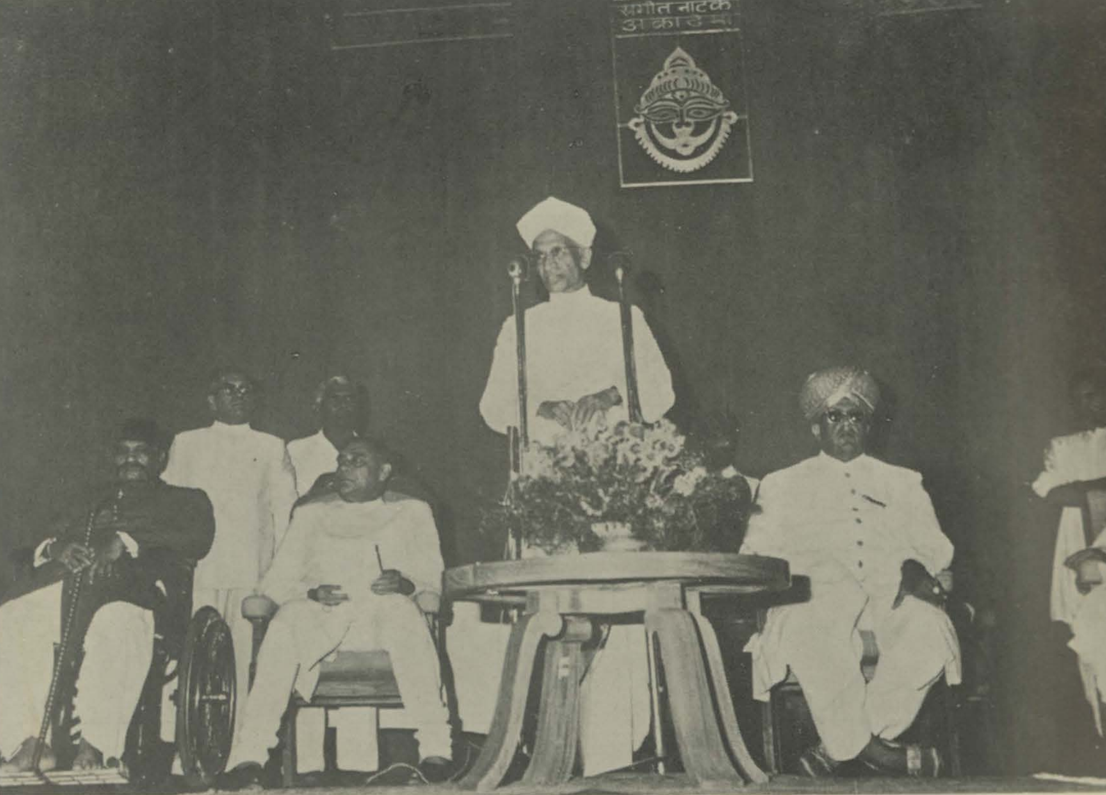
Most of us are unhappy. We think that we are religious; we degrade the name of religion, we do offence to ourselves by sanctifying intolerance, hatred and discrimination. We always say the *mahāvākyas* are there: I am Divine; *tat tvam asi*—that thou art; the self is divine. Do we practise religion? Our practice belies our professions. You have Nandanar pointing out how man is to be judged by his character. There is no other distinction. Ethical sublimity makes you a great man. Unless in the modern world that we are facing today we are able to attain that spiritual vision, that vision which sees all beings in God and which does not discriminate between man and man, unless we have that social vision and the spiritual unity, unless these two things are combined together, it will not be possible for us to face the future.



Inaugurating Punjabi University, Patiala, 24 June, 1962

Addressing the Writers' Conference, Mysore, 3 August, 1962





Speaking on the occasion of the presentation of the Sangeet Natak Akademi Awards, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 20 August, 1962

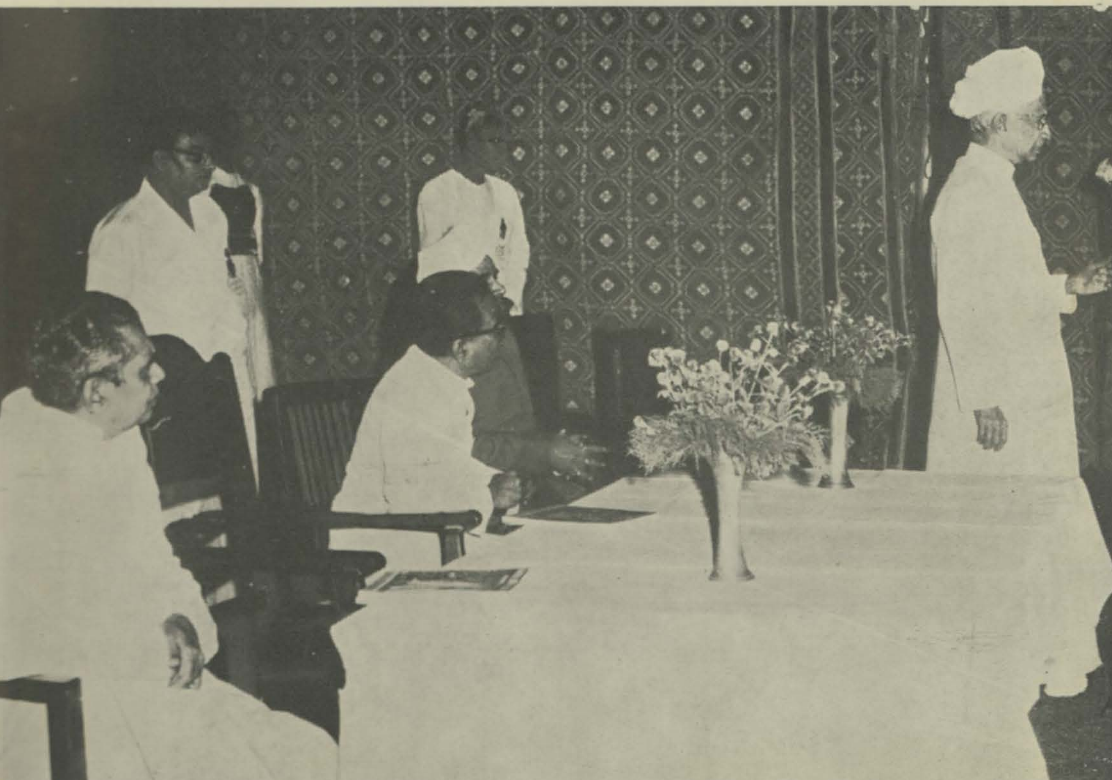
Inaugurating Jodhpur University, 24 August, 1962





Laying the foundation-stone of the new building of the National Institute of Education at Adhchini, 30 August, 1962

Inaugurating the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Karnatak Sangeetha Sabha, New Delhi, 7 October, 1962





Speaking at the Ninth Radio Sangeet Sammelan, AIR auditorium, New Delhi, 20 October, 1962

Speaking on the occasion of giving away the State Awards for the best films of 1962, New Delhi, 20 April, 1963



At a time like this when scientific knowledge is being hidden away, when people are developing studies in physics to an abnormal extent and trying not to share that knowledge with other people, now is the opportunity for the prophets of the world to come together at the international level, to recognize that though the roads may twist and turn, it is the same vision when we get to the top. Every one of us belongs to the same family of the Supreme. If we believe in the oneness of God, our religion is a reality. If we do not believe in it, religion is a mockery.

I do hope that those who are admitted here will get some idea of the fundamental truths which are never outmoded, which have come to us through centuries, which are there deep down, bred into our consciousness.

I appeal to you to know something, to know what this temple of learning, Annamalai University, and that great temple, the Chidambaram temple, on the other side, stand for. Go out into the world as ambassadors of peace.

THE AIM OF EDUCATION

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here and I am grateful to my friend Mr Basheer Ahmed Sayeed for the kind words that he has showered on me.

I do not think that when I was a student of this College we had dreams of the independence of India or that India would become a Republic, or that the young people who were with me ever thought that I would become Vice-President or President. These are not things one had planned for, or had prepared for.

Life is a series of opportunities, and whatever opportunity you have, if you try to do your best in a spirit of dedication, you will have the blessings of the Divine. One of our sacred Upaniṣads tells us that the two ingredients for success or greatness are human effort and the grace of God. Whatever work you undertake, small or great, if you throw yourself into it and if you discharge your functions in a spirit of dedication, it does not matter whether by the worldly standards you succeed or fail, you will have done your duty. Each and everyone in this College, or for that matter in any college, should have a sense of pride, a sense of craftsmanship aiming at excellence, whatever be the work that is allotted to him. If I can boast of anything, it is

Speech at Madras Christian College, Tambaram, 7 August, 1962

that as a student I tried to do my best and I aimed at doing my best. Whatever work you undertake, it must be your endeavour to throw yourself heart and soul into it and try to achieve some high standard of excellence. What follows does not matter.

As I say, greatness is a combination of ability and opportunity. You may have ability; if you do not get the opportunity, nothing happens. If you have the opportunity but do not have ability, nothing happens. It is a combination of ability and opportunity that gives you a modest amount of success in life.

When I was a student, I never thought that there was such a thing as a professorship at Calcutta. I never dreamt of a Chair at Oxford. I never knew that I would be asked to go to Moscow. All these things could not have been anticipated. You just take up life, allow it to grow according to its own principal pattern and be a willing instrument of the working out, the evolution, of that pattern. You must have sufficient humility to feel that nothing depends on yourself. It is not your endeavour, it is not your effort, but it is the grace of the Divine in Whom you have complete confidence—it is that that takes you step by step. If at the present moment I happen to be the President of this country, it only means that there was chance or opportunity, good luck and grace of Providence. All these things, if you trust them, will help you. I had that enormous faith. From the time I became conscious of myself, there was this profound faith in Divine sovereignty, in God, Who is the Creator of the world, the Ruler of nations, the Inspirer of all that is true and beautiful. That faith never deserted me through thick and thin, and even today it is that which sustains me in the varied activities which I am called upon to undertake in this new position of mine.

I want to say to you all that it is a matter of immense satisfaction to me that my elevation has given you so much happiness and that you should share this pride and this pleasure when one of you rises to the top, judged by the scale of material happiness. Not merely among the students of Madras Christian College, but all over the country, I have felt that genuine, spontaneous affection from young and old, men and women, as I tour round the country.

Education has been my special subject. At a time when people are running after all sorts of material comforts, rich food, elaborate houses, expensive cars, radio sets, and feel that they will be satisfied and happy by the accumulation of these material things, it is good to realize that we should also have some room for self-knowledge, self-scrutiny, self-criticism and perpetual endeavour to take step after step to improve ourselves. If the world happens to be in a precarious situation today and if people are afraid of one another, it is not because of lack of material accumulations or great intellectual prowess.

It is because they are lacking in that poise, in that balance and judgment, in that discernment which makes us distinguish right from wrong. It is that capacity which constitutes the purpose of education.

Education is there to help us to find out what we are for in this world. Is it merely to grow rich or grow learned, or is it for the purpose of fulfilling yourself and making yourself an offering to the Supreme? Man cannot be satisfied by wealth, by learning, but by developing the quality of detachment, of renunciation, making himself the instrument of a higher purpose. It is there that the realization of the fulfilment of man abides, and it should be our endeavour to develop it.

The subject of philosophy which I happened to take up by sheer accident has been of considerable help to me in giving me a purpose in life and in giving me a goal to work for. Philosophy, truly speaking, is not pride in the possession of wisdom; it is merely pride in the love of wisdom. What matters is that you must aspire; you must love it. And philosophy in this country, as in other countries, has always meant a spirit of detachment. To be a spectator is to detach oneself from this dream of happiness and try to achieve some kind of judgment on the world in which one happens to be born. You are not lost in the series of objective happenings. You do not become a mere object. You possess an element of freedom. It is the element of freedom that holds the key to the progress of the world. We are bound by the link of love. It is because the human individual has something of the celestial fire in him that he is able to advance into the future, not merely repeat the past.

All freedom is a perpetual crusade against that which is stagnation, evil and imperfect. If you are truly a human being, if you realize your freedom, you will realize that there is a great responsibility owed by you.

At a time like this when the perils of the future loom so large, the possibilities of the future are also there. What is necessary is the philosophical vision. We should not bother about what is going to happen tomorrow or the day after. If we look at the whole course of human evolution, we will realize that this is a time when men have become articulate and imagination has become alive, when conscience has become awakened. All these things are symptoms of the progress which humanity is making. One need not despair. It should be possible for us to face the difficulties which are ahead, overcome them and make the world a better, a more dynamic and more creative world.

I have no doubt that young men and women all over this country realize the great possibilities they have of helping humanity forward. They will have a purpose in life and they will be able to look forward to a bright future.

CONTINUITY IN CULTURAL CHANGE

FRIENDS : I am glad to be here and confer the fellowships and distribute the awards to the artists who have been selected for the fellowships and the awards for their eminence in music : vocal and instrumental, Karnatak and Hindustani; dance in its various forms of *Bharata nāṭyaṁ* and *Kuchipudi, Kathakali, Odissi, Kathak* and *Manipuri;* and theatre, including direction, production and acting. I offer them my warm congratulations and hope that they will continue to aim at high standards of excellence in respect of their arts and inspire others who are practising them to follow their example.

Our country is a great illustration in its cultural forms of the principle of continuity in change. Mere continuity without change results in sluggishness and stagnation; mere change without continuity means restlessness and anarchy. All significant change is a growth from the past into the future. This growth is the expression of the free spirit of man. Mammata's expression, *niyatikṛta-niyama-rahita,* brings out the distinction between the law-abidingness of nature and the waywardness of the human spirit. When the human spirit asserts its freedom from subjection to nature, creative art is produced.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that all these years there has been growing interest in the fine arts, music, dance and drama, throughout the country. More people are now listening to music and witnessing dance performances and plays than a few years back. This increasing interest is imperceptibly bringing about national understanding and cohesion from north to south.

Certain symbols are used for suggesting the different arts. Wherever you go, whatever part of the country you happen to be in, schools for music have the image of Sarasvati, and those of dance, Nataraja. Sarasvati is called *vīṇā-pustaka-dhāriṇī;* while the *pustaka* (book) stands for intellectual learning, the *vīṇā* makes out that the training of a pupil is incomplete without illumination of the heart, cultivation of the imagination. Man is one whole. The intellectual, the intuitive and the artistic sides should be developed in proper proportion. A balanced education means harmonious development.

Music is said to be perfect form. The distinction of form and matter is used to interpret all growth, all evolution. It is wrong to assume that form is divine and matter undivine. Matter is capable of taking in form. Matter is not the antithesis of spirit. The whole world is *īśāvāsyaṁ;* it is sacramental. The fine arts are to be used to refine our nature.

Nataraja is the Lord of Dance. I have seen His image in almost

Speech on the occasion of the distribution of the Sangeet Natak Akademi awards, New Delhi, 20 August, 1962

all dancing schools and institutions I have visited from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, from Kutch to Assam. Perpetual movement, continuity in change and the tranquil face—these are what the image signifies.

International music festivals develop world understanding; when we enter into the realm of the heart, differences of colour and creed do not matter.

THE FUNCTION OF UNIVERSITIES

I AM honoured by the invitation to inaugurate the University of Jodhpur which started work this July. It is a natural development of the many educational institutions already working in this city. It is a step in the direction of the expansion as well as the decentralization of higher education. It will give more facilities to students living in the neighbourhood to pursue university education.

Students are to be trained not to adjust themselves to the social environment but to improve it. Universities are not ivory towers but service-centres. Human history is always on the move. In some periods the movement is rapid, in others slow. Today, great changes are taking place the world over owing to the achievements in science and technology and the awakening of the social conscience. The world has been greatly transformed. At a time like this when we are circling over the earth, striving to reach the moon, if we mark time, we will pass out. If we attempt to get back to a past which we have outgrown, survival becomes uncertain. If our progress gets slackened, we will lag behind.

Rajasthan has been famous for its spirit of daring and adventure, courage to take risks, for chivalry and graciousness. These are qualities which we have to retain, though their application will be in a different context. The spirit of youth, of adventure, of transcending the past is wasted on our young people if they are content to repeat the past. We should be not prisoners of the past but pilgrims of the future.

It is in the universities that we should strive to enter the stream of world history, by adopting a scientific outlook in the treatment of our problems and developing a social passion for establishing equality, offering equal opportunities to all and eliminating inequalities so far as it is humanly possible to do so. In the great changes that are revolutionizing the world in agriculture and industry, medicine and

Speech inaugurating Jodhpur University, 24 August, 1962

surgery, health and sanitation, transport and communication, we have to take our due share. At a revolutionary period of human history, we cannot afford to be parasitical in our existence. The race is to the swift and the strong, not to the weak and the indolent.

The great tradition of this country, which is ever new and ever old, calls upon us to reckon with the great changes that are taking place. In ancient times our achievements in the scientific world, in mathematics and astronomy, physics and chemistry, logic and grammar, were of a fundamental nature. To take the example of mathematics : the zero, the placing of numerals and the decimal system have been basic. For some centuries, our growth was arrested and our minds became closed and sterile. We are recapturing fertility of imagination, and our scientists have made in recent times notable contributions. With the increasing facilities now available for scientific research and technological investigation, it is the hope of us all that our young men and women will show themselves capable of great work.

You, Mr Chancellor, just said that "universities cannot become centres of *parā vidyā.*" It is true that we deal with subjects that are covered by *aparā vidyā,* lower knowledge; *aparā vidyā* serves *parā vidyā.* Nature and life go beyond themselves in man's consciousness. In man the innocence and inarticulateness of nature cease. Mind is self-understanding, self-knowledge and self-criticism. Religion and philosophy, science and art belong to a single whole. Science gives us a method of describing and explaining the universe. When we look at the cosmos surrounding us, the stars, the sun and its planets, we have an intuitive feeling of the wonder and majesty of the panorama. Philosophy or religion does not offer to describe for us in logical terms the birth of the worlds or the inner structure of the universe. Science explains to us these problems as best as it can. It attempts to do so in terms of matter, energy and the physical laws. This outlook so dominates our thinking that we find it difficult to believe that there may be any other. We, however, assume that religion and philosophy are traditionally the language in which the universe is conceived. Science is a part of the attempt to understand the world and is not divided from philosophy and religion. They all are concerned with fundamental problems and concepts. Even science does not say now that the intangible is non-existent. Ultimate principles which are intangible are essential for the understanding of the world.

Art, science, philosophy and religion, all confirm the validity of the basic principles of Indian culture. It is this that we have to carry out in our daily life. We all in the world are to attain completeness : *mokṣāyate saṁsāraḥ.* Reality is in process. The man of faith gains

wisdom : *śraddhāvān labhate jñānaṁ*. Let us have faith in our future. In universities, whatever subjects we take up, we should be grounded on the basic humanism of our culture. Even researchers and experts are not truly educated if they do not have a grounding in the spiritual values of our culture.

It is the youth of the country who have to push forward the great revolution we are engaged in. We must be strong, patriotic and selfless in our work.

It is my earnest hope that the students of this University will contribute to the development of our country by their devotion to truth and freedom from suspicion and prejudice.

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here this evening and lay the foundation-stone of the National Institute of Education. It is the beginning of a large expansion which we contemplate.

The problems facing our generation are different from those which confronted earlier generations, and we have to rethink the fundamentals of our educational structure if we are to cope with the problems which are now facing us.

When Independence was attained, it was our desire that our men and women should be able to lead happy, healthy and useful lives. The three obstacles which stand in the way of that kind of national development are ignorance, disease and poverty. Of these, the major obstacle is ignorance. If we are able to remove ignorance from men's minds, their poverty also will diminish, their disease also will be eliminated. That is very essential.

We have been trying to achieve through our Five Year Plans a kind of economic development, which will lead to the spread of education, the removal of illiteracy, the lowering of the incidence of disease and the elimination as much as possible of poverty. But we find that in this attempt we are depending a little too much on foreign aid, foreign equipment, even foreign foodgrains and foreign personnel ! This kind of dependence cannot be regarded as very healthy for a sound and safe economic structure. There is nothing wrong in accepting foreign aid. The world is an interdependent one, and advanced societies owe a responsibility to the less advanced ones for making them grow up, because of widespread illiteracy, widespread poverty and widespread

Speech at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new building of the National Institute of Education, Adhchini, 30 August, 1962

disease. They happen to be the obstacles to national stability. Social upheavals are caused by increase in economic distress. So it is our duty to try to remove it and it is the duty of every nation now in this interdependent world to help another. All the same, we should try to reduce this kind of excessive dependence on other nations. We must become self-sufficient. We have vast manpower and immense natural resources. What is it then that prevents us from climbing to the heights of glory, comfort and prosperity which other nations have achieved by dint of hard work and education?

We have men and women energetic and eager to do their best, and we have vast natural resources also. In spite of all these things, what is it that prevents us from achieving something great and glorious here? I say that it is the lack of proper education, in quality as well as in quantity. When we look at the country and the vast problems which it is facing, it is the educated men, men who have competence and skill, who have a sense of direction, who have a social purpose, it is such people who will be able to transform our societies. If we are to achieve that, we have to tackle our educational problems more seriously than we have done hitherto. This must be regarded as of the highest priority in any kind of social and economic reconstruction in our country.

The establishment of this Institute and the starting of research in several problems of education—these things are an indication of a slow awakening in our minds of the vital role which education has to play.

You have talked about the different problems that you are tackling—social education, psychological education, fundamental education—all these things are there. Basic education, you talked about. Everyone has his problems. If our children are to grow with a knowledge of, and familiarity with, the great arts and crafts which have come down to us from ancient times and which constitute such a glorious heritage of our country, in the basic system of education—call it what you please—there must be certain arts and crafts into which they are initiated. When I was looking at the exhibition, I found a picture there asking: what do you do after the Middle School? And several courses are suggested—literary, technical, medical, professional. In other words, if secondary education is to serve the interests of such a vast number of options, it must be widely diversified.

And let me assure you that university education must be of the highest quality. Again and again, we hear of clashes here or there, of railway accidents, of power crises, of aircraft accidents. It is not machines that are at fault. If imperfectly educated men are put in charge of such things, inevitably there is inefficiency, and wastage results. Here we should not compromise. We should lay the greatest stress on the quality of education which we impart. All other consi-

derations should be subordinated to the giving of the highest jobs to the best trained minds. If you compromise there, the result will be disastrous, as we are noticing day after day. It is essential that even in the university courses, you must give a chance to the best brains of the country. In all walks of our life, such brains are necessary. So, do not tamper with quality, do not lower the standards of education. These are very essential if we are to make any kind of progress.

People nowadays are greatly attracted by technological education, and naturally, too. But we should also remember that technological education without the complement of humanistic studies will be imperfect, lop-sided and deficient. It is possible for us, by the control we have obtained over the forces of nature, to bring about paradise on earth. It is equally possible for us, by pressing a button, to destroy continents. If the choice is to be made wisely, we must be cultivated in the arts of civilized life. Humanistic training and technological study must be regarded as complementary to each other. They should not be regarded as divorced, or as separated from each other.

The more important thing referred to was social education. Ever so many institutions which we have loved, and in which we have lived, have lost their relevance in the present age. The scales of complacency have fallen from our eyes. At a time when we are circling the earth, trying to reach the moon and the stars, to talk about —is this my caste ?, is that your community ?, I must try to advance the interests of my caste or your community—all this seems to be an indication of utter immaturity of mind and judgment. It is essential that we should regard ourselves as members belonging to one whole society, and we should try to behave as human beings, not beings belonging to this caste or that community, this denomination or that religion, but as members of one whole society. That is the real problem today.

We are always trying to understand the implications of this nuclear age. The implications of the nuclear age are : we have to think together, work together, as the Vedic hymn chanted to you in the invocation suggested. What is necessary today is not to persist in, or continue, the old relations among sovereign States which have ended in wars. If we persist in that fault, we will again have a war which will mean the extinction of human society as we know now. If we wish to avoid it, we must disarm by mutual agreement. That kind of disarmament is possible only if we are able to understand one another, realize that it is our duty to share the cultural wealth of all people who have made India their home or who live in this part of the world with whom we get into contact. This kind of inter-cultural understanding is the only basis on which a disarmed world could be built. In all these things we must have a balanced, integrated outlook.

The function of the teacher is of vital importance. He must be a

committed man, committed to faith in the future of man, in the future of humanity, in the future of this country and the world. He must work with this implicit confidence in the power of humanity, in the recuperative power which it has and by which it can cleanse and purify itself. Unless he has faith in that, he will never be able to advance higher.

As I entered this hall, I was told your motto is *vidyayā amṛtamaśnuta* —by knowledge you gain life eternal. Life eternal does not mean life beyond, in supramundane solitude. Life eternal is something which has to be lived here and now along with people. This world is sacramental, it is something which lives, it indicates the spirit of the Divine: God dwells in this world and the world is therefore to be regarded as sacramental in its character; and if you are able to do honest work willingly, patiently and well in this world, you will have attained life eternal. That, you have said, is your maxim.

It is my hope and my earnest desire that this Institute will grow and spread its message throughout the country until at last we feel that we are the nationals of one country and that we have a national system of education.

THE UNIFYING ROLE OF MUSIC

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here and inaugurate the Silver Jubilee Music Festival of the Karnatak Sangeetha Sabha.

I should like to congratulate all those associated with this Sabha on the successful work which it has done during these twenty-five years despite difficulties and disappointments enumerated by the President of the Sabha.

It has done a great service in bringing the best musical talent of south India to north India and thus has effectively contributed to what is called the emotional integration of the country.

Music, to my mind, is the most international of all the means of communication that we have. It brings together people of different creeds and of different systems of thought on a plane where these differences are forgotten, and moods of consciousness are induced in us, which raise us above all these distinctions.

I should like to congratulate the Sabha and to express the hope that its future will be much brighter than its past has been.

Speech at inauguration of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Karnatak Sangeetha Sabha, New Delhi, 7 October, 1962

A SHRINE OF BEAUTY

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here today to give away the awards and to inaugurate the Ninth Radio Sangeet Sammelan.

I congratulate the winners of the awards. As I listened to the list, I found that many were not awarded because they were not qualified, or did not appear. It shows that this competition insists on very high standards. It means that many people who sat for the competition did not qualify themselves for it.

The Director-General referred to the work which All India Radio has done. It has done a great deal not only for the popularization of our musical heritage but also for the promotion of high standards in music. I am myself a somewhat tolerable listener. If I have nothing better to do, I tune in the radio for background music and go on doing my own work. It has been a great instrument of entertainment.

No civilization can ever survive if it does not attend to the different aspects of our life. Ethical standards, economic power, artistic life and spiritual endeavour—*dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa*—all these four enter into the nature of civilization. If we merely concentrate on wealth and power, we create a cultural and spiritual vacuum. No civilization can survive then.

Dr Gopala Reddi referred to the fact that artistes were patronized by the princes in days gone by, and, now that the princes are not in a position to patronize them, other organizations will have to take up the task. Artistes are as good members of society as any other, and respect will have to be accorded to them.

I was told that you were attempting new musical compositions. The test of good music is not merely that it suits your senses, or enters your mind and instructs it. But it must sweep your soul, it must devastate your being, overwhelm it, making you different from what you were before you listened to the musical composition. Body, mind and spirit, all these three must be stimulated by it. If it is pleasant to the sense of hearing, it is good. But the true purpose of music is not only to give pleasure to the senses, or instruction to the mind, but to convert your whole being and lift it above sorrow, above the enchantments and disenchantments of this world. In that world of music, you build a shrine of beauty, and when you once worship that, you come back to life better inspired for doing practical work. That is the true purpose of music.

I do hope that all those who get accustomed to All India Radio will realize that it is deep calling the deep : it is the man who is well nursed in his soul, who is nurtured in his being, who has intensity of

Speech at inauguration of the Ninth Radio Sangeet Sammelan, AIR auditorium, New Delhi, 20 October, 1962

experience, it is that man who can communicate true joy to the auditor. If we remember that, we will make as great musicians as our ancestors did.

I wish you the best of luck.

THE TRADITION OF TEACHERS

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here this morning and give away the awards to the teachers who have been recognized as having done eminent service to the teaching profession at different levels.

I listened with great interest to what the Minister of Education has just said. Our attempt is to improve the working conditions of the teachers, give them better salaries, make provision for the teaching of their children and enable them to go out of the country to keep abreast of the latest advances in knowledge.

We recognize that the profession of teaching is that which contributes to the transmission of our intellectual heritage and our technical skills and to the training of our people for the development of the country in every way. It is, therefore, of as much importance as any other profession that we can think of, perhaps more important because we are trying to train the minds and hearts of our young people. Our future rests on the type of youth we produce.

Intellectual pursuits impose certain obligations. It is necessary for us to recognize inconvenient facts, however unpalatable they may be. If we are servants of intellectual integrity, we must recognize things which go against our firm beliefs and pet opinions, develop in the minds of the young an emotional participation in the consistent pursuit of truth, which is one of the greatest tasks. A nation is judged not merely by the level of literacy but by the contributions to science and scholarship which it makes; and if our people are to produce great scholars, great scientists, it is necessary that the foundations should be laid in the primary, middle and secondary schools. Colleges complete the courses of education which they have undergone.

Teachers, according to our tradition, have been sovereigns over themselves and servants of the people. They maintain absolute control over their own feelings and try to help humanity to the extent possible. That has been the tradition. The greatest teachers of our country have been those who have made our civilization live. They were the people who went to distant countries and provided them with some kind of background, or bed-rock, of the civilizations which they them-

Speech at annual distribution of National Awards to teachers, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 25 October, 1962

selves had. Not only did they travel from one end of the country to the other, but they went to distant parts of the world, facing troubles, hardships and handicaps.

The Minister has said that today there is an additional responsibility resting on our teachers. The country is faced by perhaps the greatest crisis we have had since we achieved Independence. Our officers and soldiers are fighting—fighting so gallantly, fighting so well as to be a challenge to our selfishness and to our pettiness and narrowness. There they are facing superior numbers, superior equipment, giving up their lives. There is no question that so far as this struggle is concerned, there is only one end to it and that is victory for our forces and for ourselves. It is the trespassers into our country, those who violated our boundary, it is they who are to be thrown out. We are defending, we are not on the offensive. We are trying to defend our own land, trying to throw out people who have entered it. We told them times without number that for centuries these borders had been within the territorial limits of India and that we were prepared to enter into negotiations. Spurning all these offers, rejecting, so to say, every effort we made for negotiations for a settlement, they came determined to decide the issue by might. That is the position in which we are. And in this world, whatever upsets we may have, whatever reverses we may pass through, ultimately victory is for the just cause. There is no doubt that we will improve our numbers, improve our equipment, buy equipment from whatever country is prepared to offer it, and that we will offer resistance till our country is rid of the invader; and in preparing the psychological climate of the country, the responsibility of the teachers is very great, and I have no doubt that they will not fail us.

IDEALS OF EDUCATION

I AM happy to be here and to note the development of the Panjab University since I last visited it in December, 1958.

I am glad to know that the Library building is now an impressive structure with varied facilities for readers. Laboratories and hostels have now come up. It is good to know that you have now hostel accommodation for 1,600 men and 400 women students. Fortunately, teachers and staff members also live in the campus.

It is a pleasure to know that the University has been recognized as a centre for advanced research and training in mathematics, geology, botany and chemistry. The side of humanities is well developed. It

Speech on opening the Gandhi Bhavan and the Arts Faculty building of Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1 December, 1962

is essential for sciences, technology and humanities to be developed in a balanced way. We need whole or complete human beings and not fractional ones.

Moral and spiritual training is an essential part of education. The tragedy of the world is the divorce of knowledge and wisdom. The establishment of the Gandhi Bhavan will be a constant reminder that we should attend to the moral values. A study of his writings will be of great value. Education is incomplete if we do not endow the pupils with a purpose. In our country, *vimarśa-rūpiṇī vidyā; vidyayā amṛtamaśnute.* Enfranchisement of the mind, freedom from prejudice and fanaticism, and courage are essential.

You refer to the troubles through which our country is passing and the magnificent response which this State has made to our cause. Punjab has been known all these centuries for its sturdy patriotism and capacity to undertake risks and sacrifice. As you rightly remind us, this tradition has been there from the time of Alexander, or probably even before. This State has collected more than 3½ crores of rupees for the National Defence Fund. About 5,00,000 persons have already volunteered for service.

You know that this conflict is not of our seeking. It is forced on us. It has been our consistent policy to maintain friendly relations with all countries, irrespective of their ideologies or alignments. This has been one of the basic principles of our foreign policy. It has always been our endeavour to settle even vital disputes in a peaceful way. We do not wish to solve problems by force of arms. We know that ultimately it does not solve any problems but produces only bitterness and hostility. So we hope very much that this conflict will not be allowed to develop into a full-blown war. This depends on China. Her peace proposals are calculated to confuse the issues and confound the world. Line of control, Line of actual control, the McMahon Line, 7 November, 1959 Line—all this need not be brought in at this stage. Our simple and straightforward proposal is that China should withdraw to the positions she held before the 8th of September, that she should give up at least the fruits of her armed aggression in the last two months. If she does that, we can have a full, fair and frank discussion of all outstanding differences. It is now for China to act.

Initial reverses are not unexpected with nations which are attuned to peace and are unprepared for war. All the same, our vulnerability has been exposed, and we should take immediate steps to strengthen our defences, increase our army, navy and air force. The Indian army has been one of the finest armies in the world, and we should maintain that reputation. It must be a first-class army, modern and well-equipped.

THE EDUCATION OF THE WHOLE MAN

MR Chancellor and friends : I had the pleasure of addressing the graduates of Utkal University a few years ago and I am glad that I have another chance today. This University was started in 1943 in a rented building at Cuttack. It has now moved to this spacious campus. I have no doubt that the facilities now available for the students and the University will help them to acquire higher standards of excellence in their work. It is my hope that this campus may last for many years and provide habitation and facilities for higher learning to the students of this State.

This State is famous, among other things, for the great declaration which Aśoka made after the conquest of Kalinga : that he would abstain from bloodshed and abolish all killing, even in his kitchen. The Buddha made a similar statement : victory breeds hatred and the conquered live in sorrow.

There are situations when, against our will, we are obliged to use force in defence of freedom, security and justice. This is permissible according to our traditions and scriptures. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* speaks of military science along with other sciences like the science of the stars—*kṣatra-vidyā nakṣatra-vidyā*.

The conflict with China has disclosed our inadequacies which we are attempting to remedy, and the University can take an effective part in this task of building up our military strength and industrial potential. Students, by joining the NCC, will help in this cause. The problems which face us today are different from those which confronted earlier generations. We have to respond to the new challenges. Democracy is rooted in our tradition. It is easy to adopt democratic forms; it is difficult to acquire democratic habits. Dignity of behaviour and good manners, repudiation of fanaticism and intolerance, are the essential qualities of the democratic temper. It is for the leaders to blaze the trail if the youngsters are to adopt them.

Even though we have adult franchise and every adult has a vote, we cannot say that we have succeeded in providing the minimum facilities for the self-expression and development of our people. Through planned economic development we are striving to provide such opportunities. Here also we require the study of science and technology.

Our dependence on other people is somewhat alarming. We have immense manpower, vast natural resources, but we are lacking in skilled personnel and the co-operative spirit. Nations climb to heights of power and influence by dint of hard work and the spirit of adventure, enter-

Convocation Address, Utkal University, 2 January, 1963

prise and initiative. We have to pull together and train our youth in the skills we need and give a new direction to their lives.

In these days of specialized training, more facilities should be made available for colleges of science—theoretical and applied—and for different types of engineering and technology. I hope that this University is paying adequate attention to this subject. The development of science is essential for increasing agricultural and industrial production.

We suffered in recent times from different fissiparous tendencies but in the face of the new challenge from China, the fact of the unity of the country is being realized in our minds and hearts. This great opportunity should not be allowed to wither away. The consciousness of belonging to one great nation should be instilled into the minds of our students.

The different subjects we study in a university go together. The effort to understand the wonderful and enigmatic universe in which we find ourselves is the most humane study that we can think of. Science is thus a branch of the humanities also. From this flowing, ever-changing universe, there is always an escape into an inward realm of beauty preserved for ever—causes lost or won beyond recall. It is here that science and aesthetics meet. Even the students of technology should not be allowed to become mere technicians. They are, first and foremost, human beings.

What we need today is the education of the whole man—physical, vital, mental, intellectual and spiritual. A university should try to provide such a kind of education.

There is too much intellectual flabbiness because seriousness in the pursuit of studies is not encouraged. There should always be a vision of the future : the image of society which we wish to fashion, a society in which people will have hope and opportunity to develop themselves.

Subversive movements occur when people become desperate, and we should see to it that our masses do not become desperate. Concern for fellow men should be a marked feature of every educated man. It is my hope that this seat of learning may produce men and women who will live, love, take risks, be prepared to suffer and create a civilized society. Each one of us associated with this University should work for this goal. I congratulate the graduates of the year and wish them well.

THE HIGHER LIFE

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here this morning and lay the foundation-stone of Sri Sarada College. I have no doubt that with the generous donations received even today, this building will come up and prove a great advantage to the girls of this district who wish to educate themselves in modern arts and sciences. These facilities have not been available to the people of Salem district till now, and, thanks to the endeavours and enterprise of Smt. Seethalakshmi Ramaswamy and Mr S. V. Ramaswamy, you have been able to think of this institution.

When you talk about education, you have several aims in view : give the people, those who are taught, knowledge of the world in which they live—science, history and geography enable you to get that knowledge; you also train the people to acquire some technical skill by which they can earn a livelihood. These are still accepted the world over as the objects of education : knowledge of the world in which you live and technical skill by which you can earn a livelihood. But what is there specific about the kind of education imparted in this institution or other institutions of our country? We have heard that the chief purpose of education is not merely the acquiring of skill or information but the initiation into a higher life, initiation into a world which transcends the world of Space and Time, though the latter informs and animates the former. That has been the main purpose of education. For some centuries we neglected our womenfolk. Our tradition, however, has been somewhat different :

purākalpeṣu nārīṇāṁ
mandira vandana niścitaḥ
adhyāpanañca vedānāṁ
gāyatrī vācanaṁ tathā

In ancient times, our women had the ceremony of *upanayana* performed for them. They were entitled to a study of the Vedas. They were also entitled to the chanting of the *Gāyatrī japa.* All these things were open to our women. But our civilization became arrested and one of the main signs of that decay of our civilization is the subjection of women.

After Independence, through the exertions of Mahatma Gandhi, a revolution has been effected in our country, and women are coming into their own. The institution is a symbol of that new awakening among women. It is essential, therefore, that our women should be treated as equal to others in every respect, political, economic, cultural

Speech on laying the foundation-stone of Sri Sarada College, Salem, 6 January, 1963

and spiritual. That is what we should do. It is obvious that this higher purpose of education is recognized by you, because your College is named after Śri Saradamani Devi, an example of devotion to duty and love of God. That is what she embodied. In this world, there is nothing so permanent as this love of, or adherence to, the Supreme. Bhartṛhari tells us that the *śarīra* is *anitya. Mṛtyu* is ever by our side. Therefore, do the right. That is what he tells us. Dharma or a life of virtue, a life of righteousness, is the great thing to which we have to adhere. Every scripture of ours emphasizes this. The fulfilment of man consists in what the *Gītā* calls *brahma saṁsparśa,* touching God. It is an extensive feeling, it is a perpetual experience, it is intuitive communion with the Supreme.

Today happens to be the *Vaikunṭha Ekādaśī* day, the day on which Kṛṣṇa taught Arjuna the *Bhagavadgītā.* There was a time when Arjuna was divided in his mind, was paralysed by doubt and said : "I shall get away from this battlefield."

na kāṅkṣe vijayaṁ kṛṣṇa na ca rājyaṁ sukhāni ca
kiṁ no rājyena govinda kiṁbhogairjīvitena vā

"I do not want victory. Nothing at all do I want. I want to get away; what is the use of living in this world when all our people are killed ? What is there in this life ?" He wanted to become a monk, a sanyasi, giving away all his earthly possessions, earthly desires. Then Kṛṣṇa tells him :

klaibyaṁ māsma gamaḥ pārtha naitattvayyupapadyate

"This kind of impotence does not befit you."

klaibyaṁ māsma gamaḥ pārtha naitattvayyupapadyate

"This weakness of heart is petty, is low, does not befit you. Give it up, take up your arms and fight the battle." This is what Kṛṣṇa advised Arjuna, when he was in a divided mind, when his mind was confused—*dharma saṁmūḍha teṣāṁ*—he did not know what he should perform. All the same Kṛṣṇa said, "When you fight, think of Me and fight." This is how the *Gītā* concludes :

yatra yogeśvaraḥ kṛṣṇo
yatra pārtho ḍhanurdharaḥ
tatra śrīrvijayo bhūtiḥ
ḍhruvā nītirmatirmama

The *Yoga* of Kṛṣṇa and the *ḍhanus* of Arjuna, the contemplative wisdom of Kṛṣṇa, the practical efficiency of Arjuna—these two things are necessary if we are to win any kind of victory in this world.

Prosperity, *Śrī*, and *vijaya*, victory—these are open only to those people who have both contemplative power and practical efficiency. Arjuna is *ḍhanurdhara*. Kṛṣṇa is the *Yogeśvara*. If the two things are combined in each individual, they are not two different entities separated from each other. *Nara Nārāyaṇa* are to be found in each human soul. There is a constant fight, a battle taking place there and we do not know what to do. Therefore it is that Kṛṣṇa tells us. "Whatever you do, do it with wisdom in your heart." That is how the greatest of our people fought in this world.

All the *vivekis*, the emancipated souls, the enfranchised human beings, take part in the agony of the world. There will be agony in this world; there will be incompleteness; there will be errors to be corrected, inequity to be set aside, evil to be overcome. So long as these are there, your duty is not to run away from the battlefield but to face all these evils, overcome them and try to establish the rule of righteousness.

I was very pleased today when I came here to listen to the prayer and to the recitation given by your girl students. These are the things which will sustain you in the great distresses, disappointments, which occur to every human being. If you are able to set aside a few moments every day of your life to think that this world is not ours, that the worldly possessions are not ours, that there is a Supreme Anchor which will protect us, if we place our trust in that Supreme Anchor :

ananyaścintayanto māṁ
ye janāḥ paryupāsate
teṣāṁ nityābhiyuktānāṁ
yogakṣemaṁ vahāmyahaṁ

If you, with an undivided mind, concentrate your attention on the Supreme—all that He asks from you is trust, surrender—then He will be eternally bound to you. *Nitya abhiyuktānāṁ*—your *yoga* and your *kṣema* will be borne by Him. You need not bother about what you do or what you do not do. That is the way in which Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna : "All that I require of you is faith in Me. Trust Me with an undivided mind, with an undistracted attention. Think of Me, go and fight, you will win. Fight or no fight, the conquest will be ours." That is what He told Arjuna.

Another lesson which you have to learn from the *Bhagavadgītā* which is pertinent today is that the Supreme is with us, by our side. You call it *Brahman*, you call it *Paramātmā*, you call it *Bhagavān*. Arjuna says :

vihāra śayyāsanabhojaneṣu

"You have been my Companion, O Lord ! *vihāra, śayyā, āsana, bhojana,* whatever work I am doing, whatever things come to me, You are by my side, You are my perpetual Companion. I look upon You as my dearest Friend. You are guiding me every time." So, God is not merely up above in Heaven, transcending the world of faith and time. He is not only *Parabrahma;* he is *Paramātmā,* the deepest in you, and *Bhagavān*—the Cosmic Lord. That Lord was by the side of Arjuna. He is by the side of every one of you, if you are able to find out what the realities are. If you do your exercise, if you exert your attention, if you practise the presence of God, you will see God. God never, never disappoints you. Knock and it shall be opened. The meaning of it is : if you ask for Him, He is there. He is ever ready to respond to your wishes.

Another great feature of the *Bhagavadgītā* is its catholicism :

> *ye yathā māṃ prapadyante*
> *tāṁstathaiva bhajāmyahaṁ*
> *mama vartmānuvartante*
> *manuṣyāḥ pārtha sarvaśaḥ*

"In whatever way you follow Me, you will come to Me. All men are merely trying to adopt the ways to Me. The names may be different, but the one goal they have is Me." That is what the *Gītā* teaches us, catholicism, that you should not quarrel about dogmas, about ways of approach, saying "I am a Saivite, you are a Vaishnavite, I am a Smarta." These differences are irrelevant. All men must be regarded as completely equal to one another. They are protected by the invisible arms of the Divine. There is no man in this world who is deserted by God. He is never left desolate. If you all think of Him, if you concentrate your mind, your faith on Him, He is there by your side. Even a great *ācārya* like Śaṁkara tells us : He sends messengers, messengers to every one who calls on Him, messengers of the Supreme Spirit. They are the warners, they are the people who come to us, when we are in our direst moments, the moments of greatest disappointment and distress. They are there. God is never asleep. We go to sleep now and then. But He is ever awake. He is ever vigilant. He is protecting not only individuals but also nations. There is the rule of Providence in this world, and that rule of Providence must be observed by you.

The name of your institution is Sri Sarada College; Śri Saradamani must be an inspiration to all our women in this world as to how they should conduct themselves, whatever may be the deprivation, the difficulties they pass through. Be certain that there is one Eternal Companion. You are never alone, you are always there with some one looking to your deepest interest.

It is my hope and prayer that this institution, as your report says, will produce women—women of great intellectual ability, women of practical efficiency, women of great virtue, women who conform to the traditions which our country has bequeathed to us. They will never die. Kingdoms may come and go, civilizations may rise and fall; but the eternal truths are always eternal. Believe in them and you will prosper.

AN ARTIST OF RARE QUALITIES

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here today to do honour to the creative artist of outstanding quality whom we have in our midst today.

Shri Onkarnath Thakur pointed out to you the antiquity of *Nāṭya śāstra* and the long history it has had. But history sometimes becomes archaic and arrested. The great point is that great exponents of the art make it creatively alive. You have in Shri Prithviraj Kapoor a great artist, a distinguished actor, who has done considerable service to the revival of the theatre in our country. Already an account has been given of his friendly, compassionate and conciliatory nature. He used to be a Member of the Rajya Sabha some years ago. When passions ran high, when discussion became tense, I would request Shri Prithviraj Kapoor to make a speech; and his sincerity, his good humour and his transparent honesty used to smoothen the frayed nerves of our parliamentarians. The work that he did might not have been enlightening as regards the Constitution, but in inducing a climate of conciliation and friendliness he was superb, and when he was not nominated again to the Rajya Sabha, we were all very grieved. We were sorry that such a remarkable figure, such a colourful personality, was not going to be there.

I want you to understand the qualities of Shri Prithviraj. He is not only a great artist, he is a servant of the nation; he has worked for national coherence; and the plays which he has written, or acted in, are plays intended to bring the people of this country together. The purpose of all literature is fellowship and reconciliation, *Sāhitya* is nothing more than bringing people together. That is what he has done on the stage. I saw him on the stage also, I witnessed his superb acting; his stately presence adds to the powerful acting of his. Not only has he been a great actor, but he has also trained a number of people. He has established theatres all over the country—Prithvi

Speech on presenting *Abhinandan Granth* to Prithviraj Kapoor, New Delhi, 15 January, 1963

Theatres—and a large number of people have been trained by him, who will keep the art alive.

I have no doubt that he will live for many, many years to contribute to the enjoyment of the people of this country and to make the art of drama something worthwhile. He, of course, strayed into cinema also. He acted in many plays, and wherever he played, we found his presence radiating benevolence, peace, goodness—these were the qualities which emanated from him. Very rarely do we find an artist of such qualities.

Shri Prithviraj Kapoor should have had this book presented to him long ago. This book will perhaps give you an account of his early rise, of his progress and the troubles and struggles he had to contend with. Great things are not achieved by sloth and indolence, but by energy, by faith, by dedication and concentrated endeavour. You have an example of this truth in Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.

THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

I AM glad to be here to lay the foundation-stone of the new buildings of the Nikhil Bharat Banga Bhasa Prasar Samity. It has been doing very valuable work throughout India for the last 25 years, teaching Bengali to non-Bengali students both Indian and non-Indian. I have no doubt that its work is highly appreciated. This is evident from the fact that sister-organizations in other Indian languages, Tamil and Malayalam, have also made contributions to the development of this Samity.

We talk a great deal about national integration; one of the best means of promoting national integration is the study of Indian languages. There have been great names in Bengali literature in recent times—Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, D. L. Roy. We know something about their work : to know it is to know not only something about the culture of Bengal but also the soul of India, for all these great writers in different ways expressed the spirit of the country. When we read the classics of the great literatures of India, we are impressed by the oneness of our culture to which men of all races and religions have made effective contributions.

The work which this Samity is doing is a great instrument of national integration. I have, therefore, great pleasure in laying the

Speech at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new buildings of the Nikhil Bharat Banga Bhasa Prasar Samity, Calcutta, 20 January, 1963

foundation-stone of these buildings, and I expect that the Samity will have a great future.

THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE OF ART

FRIENDS : I have watched the progress of this institution from its very beginning and the imagination, energy and enterprise which went into its development. I have known both Krishnalal Shridharani and his wife Shrimati Sundari Shridharani from the time she was a student in the Banaras University years ago. This institution owes not a little to her work and the great contribution she has made to it.

It is called Triveni Kala Sangam. Triveni is the three arts of music, dance and painting. These are cultivated here. Students are trained here in these arts. Other arts like ceramics are also being brought into it.

Art requires training. It is not merely self-indulgence, it is self-discipline. If it is to be self-discipline, proper guidance is essential. Some of the most eminent teachers in the different arts are working in this institution and helping our youth to grow up in an artistic atmosphere.

We all know that in this country the arts are regarded as sacramental. You have the *vīṇa* of Sarasvati, the flute of Śri Kṛṣṇa, and the dance of Nataraja. All these arts are intended to educate the spirit of man. That which enables you to lay your hand on the supreme mystery of this world is said to be *kalā*. It is something by which you are lifted above the trivialities of existence and which enables you to touch the limits of beatitude. That is why you call it a *kalā*. These *kalās* are taught here.

Sangam is any assembly of people where they meet together, exchange views, profit by one another's experience and try to foster the education of art.

The Triveni Kala Sangam is a major contribution to the artistic renaissance of our country.

The Maharaja Sahib of Baroda said that in pre-Independence days Maharajas used to patronize art. I should like to say that even now Maharajas patronize it. The Maharaja Sahib of Baroda is himself doing a great deal for the uplift of this institution.

Here are taught music of all forms, dance of all varieties, and they bring about some kind of national understanding. It is said that

Speech on opening the new building of the Triveni Kala Sangam, New Delhi, 3 March, 1963

art is the most international of all languages. It does not merely bring together the people of this country, but it makes you also feel that you are drawing together the peoples of the world and establishing some kind of fellowship or fraternity. This ideal is also served by this institution.

It is my earnest hope and desire that this building which I have the honour of opening in a few minutes, will continue to be here for a long, long time, educating our people and making them feel that if they are to be truly civilized human beings, they must have the artistic sense in them. There is a space in our heart where man is completely master of himself, which the adversities of nature or the circumstances of history do not touch. It is the realm of the imagination where we can grow. It is the consciousness of that freedom of the human spirit that enables us to fight all the battles of nature, all the forces of history and push the world along. I hope that these ideals will be borne in mind by those who work here, and that this institution will help to foster a really civilized mode of living in our country.

THE MAGIC OF WORDS

In our country we have had a long and continuing tradition of women writers and poets. Some of the hymns of the Ṛg Veda were composed by women : Viśvavārā, Apālā, Ghoṣā, Godhā, Lopāmudrā, Śāśvatī and Romaśā. This tradition still prevails.

Great literature demands intensity of experience and magic of words. If these two things are there, we have great literature. Literature is essentially man's dialogue with himself. Science is man's dialogue with nature and religion is man's dialogue with the Supreme. Most of us live on the surface and are incapable of great heights. Our works, too, do not carry that depth of feeling which captures the hearts of others. True literature finds an echo in millions of human hearts.

Shrimati Mahadevi Varma has enriched Hindi literature. Being soaked in the spirit of our culture, she has been able to make an outstanding contribution to our life. It is our devout wish that she may be spared for many years to continue her useful work.

Speech at Smt. Mahadevi Varma Abhinandan Samaroh organized by the Lekhika Sangh, Delhi, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 6 April, 1963

AN INSTRUMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

FRIENDS : I am delighted to be here today and distribute the awards to the film artistes, producers and directors, who, by dint of hard work and imagination, have won these distinctions. I have no doubt that these awards and other means which we have instituted will help to raise the technical, aesthetic and cultural standards of our films.

I am glad to notice that we have had men and women of all languages, of all communities, represented among the recipients of the awards. This, by itself, should be taken as an instrument of national integration.

A film has generally three different functions to fulfil, *vinoda, vidyā, vinaya,* entertainment and satisfaction of the senses, instruction of the mind, discipline of your nature. When you see a good film, you not merely enjoy the colour, music and the rhythm, not only acquire certain lessons from our national heritage or the world heritage which should not be enfeebled or impoverished, but there is also such a thing as the elevation of spirit. A sense of alienation, a sense of restlessness, a sense of distraction—these things also should in a manner be removed if a film is a good one. You must, therefore, have all these three ends in view.

All those who participate in this very important industry should regard themselves as taking part in work of supreme national importance. If a nation is strong, united and disciplined, there is nothing that it cannot accomplish; but if it is weak, divided and undisciplined, nothing great can be achieved. We are doing a great deal to raise our material standards. It is necessary to raise our standards of behaviour too. Unfortunately, we come across instances in places high and low where standards of behaviour are not what we generally expect. A film, if it really regards itself as an instrument of public education, should create a new people, a new society; should break down prejudices; bring down traditions which are pernicious in character, and preserve only those healing and healthy things that we have acquired. I do hope that all those connected with this industry will realize the important part they have to play in the remoulding of our society.

I congratulate the winners and wish them the best of luck.

Speech at the distribution of State Awards for Films, New Delhi, 20 April, 1963

GURZADA: THE GREAT LITTERATEUR

FRIENDS: I am very happy to be here this evening and preside over the Gurzada Appa Rao Garu Centenary celebrations.

I had the privilege of meeting him once or twice in Madras. During the period in which he lived there was a ferment in the social life of the Andhra country. There were Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu and others who were deeply interested in ridding our society of the social evils which afflicted it. Gurzada Appa Rao took up his powerful pen in vindication of the rights of the common people and produced a number of satires condemning unequal marriages, child marriages, etc. His prose and the few poems which he wrote are simple and lucid. I remember reading a small work called *Kanyakā*—I do not know how many people know about it now, but I read it when I was a student; then his play *Kanyā śulkam*—I have seen it staged. Here was a man who stood for individual freedom and human fellowship. He tried to break down all walls of prejudice built by caste, race, religion, and wanted every human being to feel that he belonged to the one tribe of the human race. That was the great contribution which he made.

Shri Subba Rao referred to the song which was sung just now, which makes out that a country does not consist of the land we live in but of the people. If we want to rebuild our country, we must improve the lot of our people. Many of them are still sunk in superstition and obscurantism and are the victims of orthodox practices which have wrought so much havoc among human beings in our country. Gurzada Appa Rao was a man who tried to raise by his works the submerged people of our country to a higher status. Let us honour his memory by practising, if we can, the two great qualities, the promotion of human dignity and the fostering of human fellowship.

THE SPIRIT OF UNIVERSALITY

FRIENDS: I have listened with great interest to the account just now given by your President of the activities of this Society. It is interested in the study of ancient Iranian culture. Only today, when I was at the Agriculture Institute, I was shown the picture of a great scholar of former times, thousands of years ago, who discovered

Speech at the Centenary celebrations of Mahakavi Gurzada Appa Rao Garu, New Delhi, 5 May, 1963

Speech at the Ancient Iranian Cultural Society, Tehran, 17 May, 1963

alcohol and sulphuric acid; and here you have Avicenna's portrait behind you.

History, people generally say, is a register of the crimes and follies of mankind. That may be one side of history, but there is another side to it where man has contributed very much to the progress of humanity. Take Islam itself. At a time when Europe was lost in scholastic controversies and was neglectful of the social implications of religion, it came as a breath of fresh air, asking people why they were lost in those controversies. It is certain that there is one God in Heaven and one family on earth. In other words, monotheism and social justice and brotherhood were the principles that were enunciated by it and by your great scholars like Avicenna and Averroes. They were the people who translated the ancient classics and brought them to the attention of the world, the European world, which had lost contact with them. The European enlightenment owes, to a not small extent, to the works of these great scholars.

What we learn from the past is that when Islam had its dynamism, purity, vigour, and had not been divided into sects, it was a great force for progress. We should recover that lost purity, that lost dynamism, and we should get back from the divisions, etc., which now afflict the Islamic world as they afflict other parts of the world also. That is a lesson which we can always learn from the past of our countries.

You referred to the ancient connections between Iran and India. At a time when transport and communications were inadequate, when we did not have jet aircraft and international airports, our people were travelling from one part to the other with great ease and with much openness of mind and breadth of vision. The Silk Route from Sinkiang to the West passed through these ways and our people were here.

It is recorded by Eusebius, who quotes an earlier writer, that a member of the Indian army, who was under Darius's command, met Socrates and had a conversation with him. This comes to us from Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. He asked Socrates, "What are you discussing?" Socrates answered, "I am trying to improve the lot of human beings and I am aware of the sorrows of humanity, and I am trying to give them some kind of comfort and solace." The Indian visitor said, "You cannot understand human affairs efficiently unless you also recognize that there is an element of mystery and an unseen element; you must become an interpreter of the mysterious, you must speak with the tongue of the unseen, if you wish to raise the level of humanity." That is how the conversation has been reported. Then, it says that even in those early times Darius's army included a regiment of Indians from the Punjab, and that there were Greeks also; and these had contacts, if the Greek historians are to be trusted.

So, if you search ancient history you will find many other revelations of truth which we do not now have. One thing that we have to remember is that the past achievements of ours must give us confidence, but they should not produce self-conceit. We must never think that we had a monopoly of wisdom and knew everything, and that other people were in darkness, and that it was given to us to bring them light. We must believe that we are all children of the Supreme and that the Supreme has not deserted any of us, has not abandoned any of us. The invisible arms are there protecting each one of us, whatever may be the religion or the caste or the community to which he may belong. In one of his speeches, Jacques Maritain was asked, "What is the place of Socrates and Plato and Ramakrishna and Gandhi, so far as your heaven is concerned?" His answer was, "They may not belong to the Church of Christ, or Buddha or Muhammad, but they belong to the Church of God, the one Universal Father on whom we all depend." A very strict Catholic theologian, Jacques Maritain, who served as a librarian in the Vatican and who was later the Ambassador to the Vatican of the French Government, had the openness of mind to say that it was not necessary for us to pursue a particular path if we wished to reach the Supreme. He said, "We all belong to the one universal Church of God, though our paths leading to that Church may be this way or that way, through Christ or through Muhammad or through Buddha or any of these." It is that spirit of catholicity that we have to develop. We had that spirit in ancient times. If the study of ancient Iran produces in us that catholicity, if it is able to show us how a great emperor, the founder of the First Persian Empire, Cyrus, had the sense of sanctity about the sacred places of other people, if you are able to recover what was valuable in the past, discard whatever is conflicting with the progressive interests of humanity, this Society, which studies the ancient culture of Iran, would have done a great deal of service. Look at the petty quarrels in which we are lost now—divisions, ideological, sociological and things like that,—forgetting that humanity is one underneath all the superficial things that we have.

There was a time when Alexander came here. He was taught by Aristotle to treat all non-Greeks as inferiors, as barbarians, as slaves. "You must not deal with them," was the advice which Aristotle gave to Alexander when he came out. But what did Alexander do? He came out, looked at the Persians, looked at the Afghans, looked at the Indians, looked at them all, and said, "How can I treat them as inferiors? How can I treat them as barbarians? They are people with great intellectual powers, with great spiritual insight, and they are capable of great sociological investigations. How

can such people be treated as inferiors?" And he talked about "Hamuna"—One World; he said, "That is what I am out for." One of the first promulgators of the theory of One World, he tried to establish it not merely theoretically, but by practice. He made out that it is not necessary for us to be exclusive even with regard to our marriage customs and ceremonies. He married Roxana, an Afghan woman. Here in Persia, I do not know the names, I do not know whom he married here. But, anyway, he had that breadth of view, that hospitality of mind which made him feel that the world was intended to become one. And we must all help to contribute to the realization of that particular goal.

This Iranian Society studies ancient Iranian methods and practices; if it is able to give us that humility, that modesty, that charity towards other people, that capacity to believe that we may be wrong and they may be right—let us not presume that we have a monopoly of God, everyone is groping his way in this imperfect world to reach the same goal—if that humility of mind is induced in us by a study of our ancient past, it will be a great lesson.

We have had in our country people who recorded, as the holy Prophet Muhammad said at a later date, that anyone who is learned we worship as a saint. We worship him as a *ṛṣi* or a seer. The seers are not confined to our particular country. One of our investigators asked the question, "What do you mean by the Vedas; why do you look upon the Vedas as sacred?" He was told, "It is the saying of the wise, it is registered in the experience of the seers." The next question was, "Are these seers limited to your country?" The answer came, "It is a common quality possessed by all people in this world who have traversed the path and obtained insight into Reality. Wherever such people are found their statement must be regarded as sacrosanct. They are as authoritative as the Vedas themselves. The Vedas are nothing more than a mere capturing of the experiences of people who wrestled with the problems of life and life's mysteries and who were able to master them." It is such universalist tendencies which we have that we have to recapture for our own age today if we want to live as citizens of One World. That is what we are destined to be, that is what is bound to happen, and we must all co-operate with that purpose of the universe.

THE CHURCH OF GOD

You were good enough to say our relations have been close, and I was particularly struck by the fact that we are now exporting textiles to Manchester. I thought it was the other way round. We had a good deal of conflict on that matter, and we are now importing electronic equipment and diesel engines, etc., and exporting tea, which you like, and textiles, which apparently you don't like, and we are carrying on very well. I have no doubt that our relations will continue on the present basis and will get closer and stronger in the years to come.

This morning I went to Jodrell Bank where I saw your big telescope. Professor Lovell explained to me all the different items there; he talked about millions of light-years separating us from many stars and other things; and at the end he asked : "Why is there anything at all, and if there is anything, why is it of this particular character?" These are problems which physics cannot explain—why is there anything instead of nothing; why is there something and why is that something of this particular character? These are problems not for physics but for metaphysics. All existence presupposes some kind of Being and it is the freedom of choice of that Being that is responsible for this particular type of universe and not another.

I remember the last occasion that I came here and gave my Hibbert lectures. We had Sir Walter Moberley as Vice-Chancellor, and in the front row was Samuel Alexander, with an ear trumpet, seated there. In his great book *Space, Time and Deity,* he says that this world has for its matrix space-time. There is an upward tendency which he called nisus—materiality, vitality, mind. We are awaiting the emergent quality of deity. Deity is the next to arise. If deity is to be the end-product of this cosmic evolution and if there is a nisus or upward tendency working from the lowest strata, space-time, formal materiality, etc., it is not merely the goal of evolution but must be the ground as well as the guide of the whole evolutionary process.

That is the sort of thing which you get. I remember talking to him, spending several days here, having breakfast with him practically every day in December 1929, a long, long time ago in this place. A suggestion for an answer to these questions which Jodrell Bank raises was given by Professor Samuel Alexander in his great book *Space, Time and Deity.*

Lord Mayor and friends, we are grateful to you for the training you are giving to our students. Two of our most brilliant chemists were trained in this University where Professor Robinson was professor

Speech at dinner given by the Corporation of Manchester, 17 June, 1963

of chemistry before he left for Oxford. And we had Blackett here, who trained many of our students in physics.

Still, there are our students studying. This evening I had the chance of meeting four or five hundred of them in this place. They came from Manchester University, the College of Science and Technology, and also the neighbouring area. All of them, and we in our country, are grateful to you for the facilities you are providing for our students here. It is my devout hope and desire that these students will grow and increase in number and when they go back they will carry with them a deep devotion and attachment to the institution that provided the training for them.

And when the world has become a close neighbourhood; when, as your Lord Mayor said, air transport is making it possible for us within a few hours to be in Calcutta, Delhi or Manchester and Edinburgh, these differences will become diminished hereafter, and we will have open frontiers and easy communications between different parts of the Commonwealth and the world. Many of our students here are graduate students who are actually working in industrial concerns in India; from Bhopal you have here thirty or forty students who are young men, who have their wives with them. They are getting on with their training. After a year or so they will come back to help us run these industries properly.

It is a pleasure for me to be here to meet you and renew some old acquaintances and I feel happy that the lectures I gave in December 1929 are sometimes remembered by some people here. I do remember speaking in one of the Unitarian churches in this place at the time. After all, we belong not to the Church of Scotland, the Church of England, but to the Church of one Universal God. It brings us all together, whether we are followers of this or that denomination. The one authentic voice of all true religions is the voice of compassion and the help we give our neighbour.

THE MEDIUM OF MANY LANGUAGES

I AM glad to be here and inaugurate the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha (Andhra Unit) Silver Jubilee celebrations. The origin of it was due to Gandhiji, who established this institution in 1918; but the Andhra Committee was formed in 1936, and we are now celebrating its Silver Jubilee. This organization was at work even

Speech at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Hyderabad, 21 July, 1963

before we attained Independence, and it has done a great deal to popularize Hindi in these parts of the country. We have just heard that about forty thousand people are studying Hindi every year and that in the Pracharak Vidyalaya we have trained about 2,000 teachers. There was some hesitation in this matter when it was thought that the study of Hindi was being imposed by the Government. We should see to it that such ideas do not prevail.

The three-language formula adopted by many States, which requires all students to learn the mother tongue, Hindi and English, if implemented properly, will contribute to a sound knowledge of all the three. We should try to do so.

Here there is cultivation of not only Hindi but of the regional languages. This country is of a composite character. It has unity of purpose and vision, though this is expressed through the medium of many languages.

For over 2,000 years, the epics, the Upaniṣads, the Vedanta philosophy, *bhakti*, dharma, all have influenced Indian life and thought and are enshrined in the literatures of all the languages of the country. The *Mahābhārata* is an encyclopaedia of life and knowledge, and even non-Hindus have been influenced by it. These have become the national heritage in social vision and ideal, which are set forth in the classical literature of India. In the *Mahābhārata* lives the united soul of India as well as the individual souls. It represents "the collective unconscious" of our country. We should not strangle our own soul—that will be national suicide. Professor Ryder of the University of California said that, if he was to be content with one book for his whole life, he would like the *Mahābhārata* to be that book.

Even though different languages have been spoken in this country for centuries, its fundamental unity has not been impaired. The ideals of spiritual endeavour, righteous living and devotion are to be found in the literatures of the various languages. Our culture has been a progressive one, a dynamic one, one that has been renewing itself perpetually from the period of the Ṛg Veda down to our times. This culture has been assimilating the ideas in all the languages with which it has been brought into contact. Every creative writer picked up the past heritage and made it into the living present. The *Gītā*, for example, synthesizes the different pathways to self-realization—*jñāna, bhakti, karma*. The *ācāryas* by means of their commentaries brought about a unity of vision. Tulsidas, for example, wrote the *Rāmacaritmānas* and what he says is in consonance with this spirit.

The songs of Kabīr, Sūrdās, Mīrābāi and Nānak have contributed more for the popularization of Hindi than speeches.

Hyderabad has been a great centre of Urdu culture and even this culture was not unaffected by the general values for which this country

has stood. Whereas some representatives of Islam were dogmatic, exclusive and intolerant, others were broad-minded, comprehensive and tolerant.

In my recent travels in Afghanistan and Iran, I found that Islam itself was becoming accommodating and true to the spirit of its founder, who asked Muslims to learn from every source of light and power.

Zain-ul-Abdin of Kashmir, Akbar and Dara Shikoh represent this mystic or Sufi side of Islam, which was very near to the fundamentals of the Vedanta faith. The same tendency is now visible even in the Christian world.

Contact with the West brought about a renaissance in the literatures of the Indian languages. We should, therefore, learn as many languages as possible to appreciate the soul of India which expresses itself through different linguistic media.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here this evening and release the first two publications brought out by the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute.

There have been many memorials to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad : there is a road in Delhi called after him; there is Azad Bhavan; there is the Azad Medical College; it is not possible to enumerate all the things which commemorate his memory. But I think that this Institute is something which is most appropriate to the work which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad did.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was a great statesman, a great fighter for freedom; above all, he was a great scholar in Arabic and Persian. His commentary on the Quran is well known throughout the Islamic world. So it is good for this Institute to conduct its researches, make studies of thought, reflect on them and bring out publications of benefit to the people.

Recently in the month of May, I was in Afghanistan and Iran. The Shahanshah of Iran said that the first Persian magazines were published in this country and that more Persian books have been published in India than in Iran itself. When he made a statement like that, it heartened us all, and it is essential, therefore, that we keep up this great tradition of Arabic and Persian learning which this country has enjoyed.

Speech on releasing two books, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* and *Commentary on Surah Fatiha* at the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, Hyderabad, 30 July, 1963

One of the great things for which we admire Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the way in which, in spite of his being a devout Muslim, he was also an ardent nationalist. He put the interests of the country highest and his religion was his affair. He practised rites; he conducted prayers—I have seen him do so in many places; he was a very devout Muslim—but that never interfered with his devotion to the Indian nation. He was in the front rank of fighters among our countrymen.

If you look at the countries of the world, you will discover that wherever the people there, irrespective of their race, religion and ethnic origin, worked together with a common purpose, those countries prospered. If, on the other hand, people subordinated the national interests to their sectional interests, the country always declined. So it is that he set us a great example of being a very strict Muslim and at the same time an ardent nationalist. There is no inconsistency between the two things. That is what he stood for.

In our country, therefore, in a situation like the present one where we have so many problems facing us, unity, strength, determination and sacrificial purpose are essential. Each one of us must try to serve the country, and not look upon the country as something to serve him. If we have that idea, and if we are animated by such a purpose, we will be able to further the interests of our country. It is my ardent desire that this Institute may grow in importance and bring out more works of value not only to us but to the whole world.

A book of scholarship, a book of science, a book of learning, each has its value not merely for the place where it is produced but for all places where learning, science and scholarship are admired. It is my hope that this Institute will grow in usefulness and importance, and bring out more books of value.

Your President has just declared : in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Mercy and compassion constitute divine qualities. If we are to be true followers of the religions we profess, we must rid our minds of every trace of hatred, greed and jealousy, and manifest qualities of mercy and compassion. Religions may speak with many voices, may wear many faces, may speak in many dialects, but their one authentic voice is the voice of compassion. One of the Sanskrit poets said : *eko rasaḥ karuṇa eva.* There is only one *rasa* and that is *karuṇa* or compassion.

If we are true followers of the great religions we profess, we must rid our minds of rivalry, jealousy and hatred, and develop love, brotherhood and compassion. And I hope that this Institute will further the genuine spiritual interests of humanity.

THE MESSAGE OF POET TAGORE

FRIENDS : I have great pleasure in releasing the translations by Dr B. Gopala Reddi of some of Tagore's *One-Act Plays.*

You have already heard from Shri Ravindranath something of the eminence of the poet, and of the devotion of Dr Gopala Reddi to the poet. He said that he was educated at Santiniketan and that he absorbed the spirit of that great institution. Tagore, as Shri Ravindranath said, is a world figure. His message is not merely for us in this country but for the whole world. It is said of him that among the literary writers of his generation he was the most religious man, and among the religious people of his generation, he was the most literary character. He combined literature and religion. Literature is the expression of the wisdom of our country. At a time when we were losing our self-respect and feeling humiliated by our national subjection, he called upon our people to be proud of the great heritage that they had inherited. When we say that Tagore was a religious man, we mean by religion not Mumbo Jumbo or superstition or obscurantism but the effort to integrate our personalities. Most of us live lost, bewildered, tormented lives. We do not know what we are living for; and we go on drifting in that way from one occasion to another without any consistent purpose or a pattern binding all our activities. Here was a man who called upon us to integrate our personalities. Our lives are broken generally, our minds go one way, our hearts go another, and to bring about a synthesis of our minds and hearts we need to develop unity of outlook and purpose. That is the essential purpose of religion.

We know the saying :

jānāmi dharmaṁ naca me pravṛttiḥ
jānāmyadharmaṁ naca me nivṛttiḥ

I know what is wrong but I am not able to escape from it. I know what is right, but I have not the strength to live up to what I consider to be the right thing. What is necessary is the re-integration of your personality which is today lop-sided, broken and not set to any single tune. That is the true purpose of religion. If we have that, as Poet Tagore said in his Hibbert lectures, *The Religion of Man,* we work for social equality. The one thing which he protested against in our institutions was the subjection to which we had reduced millions of human beings in the name of so-called religion. Women were subjected to great disabilities : millions of our

Speech on releasing five *One-Act Plays* of Rabindranath Tagore, translated by Dr B. Gopala Reddi, Hyderabad, 31 July, 1963

people were similarly subjected, and he thought that our sufferings were the direct result of our disloyalty to the great principles of social equality. So he exhorted us to adhere to the principle of social equality, to remove the injustices and inequalities which threatened our goal, and to make our society a single whole. In his Santiniketan no religion is derided, no image is worshipped, and nobody can talk ill of what other people hold sacred. That is the principle which he put into practice in his institution at Santiniketan. Religion is a means for the fostering of the integration of personality, of social equality and of respect for all living faiths. These are principles which we need even today, and I hope that those who read these plays will understand this essential purpose which Tagore has brought out in all his writings.

THE STUDY OF THE CLASSICS

MR Chancellor, Mr Vice-Chancellor and friends : I am happy to be associated with this pleasant function of declaring open the Osmania University Library building.

I have been in touch with the progress of this University from the time Sir Akbar Hydari drew up the blueprints for its future progress. I was here looking at all those maps which he had stuck on boards, telling us what he expected the University to become. We are pleased today that some of his aspirations have been fulfilled, and I have no doubt that the ambition which he had of making this a centre not merely of knowledge and wisdom but of virtue and compassion will also be realized.

In every university the library occupies a prominent position. The Bodleian Library at Oxford, the British Museum Reading Room of London, the Cambridge University Library, the Library of Congress in Washington and the New York Public Library are the places where aspirants go for study, reflection and research. You will be surprised to learn, but it is true, that many of the greatest writers of our time, people who moulded the thought of our century, were students all their lives, pursuing their studies in libraries. Bernard Shaw and Karl Marx were regular visitors to the British Museum Reading Room.

So, if a university has to fulfil its very important function, the library occupies a prominent place. Unfortunately, today many of our young students are content with merely reading the notes which their professors give them. They have neither the time nor the

Speech at opening of the Osmania University Library building, Hyderabad, 3 August, 1963

inclination to read great books. Nothing opens out a man's mind, broadens his horizon, as reading the great classics. I would advise everyone, not merely students but ourselves, the leaders of our country, to spend some time every day in the study of the classics, take their thoughts away from the hurly-burly of politics, from the rough and tumble where we are lost in excitement and passion. We must be in a position to decide all issues with calmness, with composure and with judgment. For that, there can be no greater preparation than an hour of study of the great classics. A classic is strictly a contemporary work. It is meant for all generations. It is not meant merely for the time in which it is written. When you open a classic, you will find there a sense of discrimination, a sense of judgment. You yourself grow, you are endowed with new eyes with which to look at the world. That is the true purpose of a classic. One of our popular verses says : *saṁsāra viṣa vṛkṣasya dve phale amṛtopame kāvyāmṛta rasāsvādaḥ saṁlāpaḥ sajjanaiḥsaha.* In this poison tree of *saṁsāra,* there are two fruits of inestimable value which have nectar-like quality : the tasting of the flavour of the classics and communion with great men. A university must bring the two together, must house the classics, must also collect men of greatness of spirit so that the students by their study of the classics and communion with the great professors, great celebrities who are brought together, get truly educated and civilized so far as their behaviour is concerned. Anger, greed and jealousy are the baser side of our nature. These are things which we have to control. We can control them effectively and efficiently by the study of these things.

It is not necessary for us to think that science gives us this, art gives us that, literature gives us a third. The house of knowledge cannot be divided against itself. It is one indivisible whole. It is a particular spiritual direction—*prayojanaṁ tatva darśanaṁ*—of the śāstras. All the sciences enable us to probe a little into the mystery of reality. Science is imaginative adventure, it is an adventure of the human mind to understand a little more of the mysteries that surround us. So also is literature : it gives us moral insight; it enables us to know the feelings and passions of men; it tells us what we should avoid, what we should not. A great writer, Thucydides, writing about the Peloponnesian War, tells us that love of power is the most wicked harlot in the world which seduces great men and great nations and brings them down to their ruin. He warns us against the seductive nature of love of power and he tells us that if we succumb to its temptations, great men and great nations, both succumb, both fall down, both become prostrate. So it is that we should discover from these great classics that what builds up a nation are the good qualities of humanity, fellowship and compassion; that

what destroys a nation are hatred, greed, suspicion and jealousy of one another. Fellowship makes for life; lack of fellowship makes for death. If we understand these things which we have in our classics, we will be true students of a university.

In every individual you have chords of fortitude, heroism, passion and the capacity to lay down his life for an abstract idea or a great cause. If we appeal to our young men and women to sacrifice themselves for a great cause, there will be adequate response. While the students and the young men are able to give us that kind of response, we must also give them the right kind of leadership. If we have both great leadership and great service, the sense of service and devotion to a cause, I have no doubt that our country will become a great one. I am optimistic. We have seen our country pass through several vicissitudes; it has passed through several chances and changes. For over four to five thousand years, by its great capacity for self-renewal, by adoption of a penetrating vision and the practice of love and compassion, we have been able to sustain this country. It will be sustained hereafter also because I know that deep down in human nature there is this readiness to respond to any kind of great call, readiness to take risks, readiness to lay down one's life. We will not be unworthy of this popular, spontaneous, great enthusiasm that we find all over the country, if we mobilize it, canalize it and use it for the purpose of building up a great world.

I hope that this University Library will nourish the spirits of our young men and women who come here, and that it will educate the elders who too must visit libraries for their own improvement.

YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here today and inaugurate formally the College which started functioning some time last month. I congratulate the village workers on their zeal and on their spirit of co-operation which have brought about the existence of this College. I wish it well in the future.

Your *Kulapati* mentioned that simplicity characterizes the staff and the students. There is not much of pomp or ostentation. He even went to the extent of saying that neckties and lip-sticks are avoided here, which shows the kind of emphasis which you are placing on austere living. If you want learning, you must be disciplined and you must try to

Speech at inauguration of the Nehru College, Faridabad, 24 August, 1963

remove all kinds of love of glory, pomp, ostentation, comfort and luxury. I am glad that you emphasize simplicity here.

You also mentioned that you are bringing together the sciences and the arts. You have in the *Gītā* a saying, *jñānaṁ vijñāna sahitaṁ*. Philosophic wisdom and scientific knowledge should go together. There is no distinction so far as the purpose is concerned between sciences and arts—*sarvaśāstra prajñānaṁ tatva darśanaṁ*. Every science has for its ultimate aim nothing more than an insight into reality, the understanding of the nature of the world and the universe. That happens to be the goal of all *śāstras*. People who are educated here should have discipline, devotion and dedication, qualities lacking in our country at the present moment. We are trying to put our self-interest higher than the national interest. Our particular fashions and fads, our prepossessions, are the things which obsess us, and we seem to forget the larger need of developing this country.

You talk about Gandhiji and Nehru, the former emphasizing philosophic truth, the latter emphasizing technology. These are not mutually exclusive, these go together. Every science develops in you the quality of dedication, discipline and the removal of personal preferences. Every art gives you an insight into reality. So, there is not much distinction between the two. But now in our country, under the leadership of our Prime Minister, we are trying to develop a secularist, socialist, democratic society. Secularism does not mean the neglect of religion. It means respect for all religions. One of the great Sikh Gurus said : *mandira masjid tere dhām, īśvara allāh tere nām*. It clearly shows that the same God dwells in temple and mosque; the same God is addressed by the different names of *Īśvara* and *Allah*. Secularism, let it be clearly understood, is not neglect of religion; it is not indifference to religion, but respect for all faiths, respect for everything which a human being holds sacred.

When you talk of a socialist society, the meaning of socialism is merely this : the greatest problem, the greatest challenge to our country today is the colossal poverty in which our people live. By industrial and economic development, we are trying to increase our wealth, but we want to see to it that this increased wealth is equitably distributed, is not confined to a limited few but that the ordinary people get the results of increased production, agricultural and industrial. If national wealth increases, the individual's wealth also should increase. We should see to it that the increase in wealth is equitably distributed.

We believe in a democratic society, a society which asserts the freedom of the human spirit. What is the good of earning the whole world if we lose our own soul, the primacy of the human individual, the dignity of the human spirit ? We are trying to work out our Constitution within the limits of a democratic framework. We do not wish to use

coercion, we do not wish to use methods including terror, we do not wish to adopt intimidation. We do not believe in indoctrination. We believe in enabling each individual to seek the truth and find out for himself without any kind of interference from outsiders. That is the meaning of democracy.

The meaning of education is to emancipate the individual. By means of education, you get the life eternal, you get freedom. Jesus Christ tells us, "ye shall know the truth, the truth shall make you free." The meaning of it is : free yourself from prejudices, from superstitions, from all allegiance to caste and community. See that you are a human being first and foremost, and let your sympathy extend to all objects of humanity. Wherever there is a human being in suffering or in trouble, it is your duty to go to his succour. If you are a truly good soul, if you are a truly educated individual, if you are truly emancipated, the suffering of every individual in this world will hurt you as if it were your own suffering. Your heart should become as naked as a nerve itself, and it must respond to the sufferings of other people. That is what we mean by education. Education must make you civil in your behaviour. You must be stern with yourself but be charitable to others. Whatever faults you have, try to correct them. But so far as other people are concerned, try to understand the position in which they happen to be and be charitable. Do not have malice. Do not adopt ideas that you are the superior and that others are inferiors. If you were in their position, you would not have done much better; that idea must enter your mind. So, the aim of education is to be severe with yourself but charitable to others.

If education has had its proper aim fulfilled, all those brought up in this institution will grow up to be civilized human beings, civilized in this way, self-controlled and benevolent. These are the qualities which we have to keep in view. It is my earnest hope and desire that those who are educated in this institution will remember these great principles for which our country has stood for centuries, which have helped us to survive, and try to work out the ideals of a society which is secularist, socialist and democratic in structure.

SARAT CHATTERJEE AND THE BENGALI RENAISSANCE

FRIENDS : it gives me very great pleasure to be here this evening and lay the foundation-stone of the Sarat Chatterjee Memorial Hall. I had the pleasure of knowing him a little in the last few years

Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Sarat Chatterjee Memorial Hall, Calcutta, 24 September, 1963

of his life. Some place in this site, I am told, he used to frequent, and his own house was situated adjacent to this site. It is most appropriate that you should have a memorial for this great writer of Bengal.

During the period of struggle for freedom, among the people who were honoured were those who were associated directly with the political struggle, but now we understand that there are other ways in which we indirectly contribute to political reawakening and the spread of political consciousness. It is natural, therefore, that we had recently the centenary celebrations of two of the great sons of Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore and Swami Vivekananda.

Sarat Chatterjee, through his writings, was able to rouse the political consciousness of our people. Though he may not have taken a direct part in the political struggle, his writings helped to awaken us to the ugliness, so to say, of political bondage. As a writer, his one persistent and passionate concern was for human relationship. He took up the case of the outcastes and the misfits of our society, and tried to make out that they were more unfortunate than wicked. Confinement, conformity—these have been the evils of our social order. Moral hypocrisy was entrenched in many of our social institutions. By his characterization, by his satire, he tried to bring about a reformation of our society. He was a rebel, a revolutionary. All those who are to be the saviours of society are people who recognize that customs which were good at one time turn out to be enemies of the present, of progress.

He was one of those who recognized that life has to be perpetually on the move, that many of the things which have come down to us from the past as sacred and sacrosanct require to be remodelled, or cast away. So he was able to awaken social consciousness and rouse the conscience of our people to many of the evils which marked our society. Therefore, I think that you will remember him as a social revolutionary, as a rebel against an established order. All progress in this world is due to the non-conformists, not to the conformists. The conformists may give you the background, but it is the non-conformists who push the world along.

This part of our country has been very famous for its literary writers : Bankim Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore and Sarat Chatterjee. They are names which are familiar to all Bengalis, and all Bengalis know how much they have contributed to the literary, artistic and social renaissance of our country. It is good that you should have a memorial for him on this site, and it is my hope that this current of Bengali literature, which has been so vital, which has never been static or stagnant, will be kept flowing by the successors of these great pioneers of Bengali renaissance. With that hope and with that earnest desire, I wish to lay the foundation-stone of the Sarat Chatterjee Memorial Hall, and I devoutly hope that there will be many successors of

these great writers of Bengali literature who will keep alive the flame of social consciousness. I am very glad to lay the foundation-stone.

A VITAL LANGUAGE

FRIENDS : I should like to congratulate the organization on the excellent work it has been doing all these years. We have had here a vivid illustration of the work it has been performing since 1948. If Mr Ghosh had not told us that they were non-Bengalis who were now singing, we should never have known it. Their accent, pronunciation, gesture, intonation and everything else seemed as if they were born Bengalis. The last of them all, the American gentleman who gave his recitation, did it so perfectly that no one could have said that he was a non-Bengali. All these things indicate that human nature is teachable, and they make people feel that they are citizens of one great world. The Bengali language is learnt by non-Bengalis and by non-Indians also. After all, as a language, it is one of the most vital not merely among Indian languages but among the languages of the world. It has so much to contribute to the cultural wealth of the world. Therefore, all those who wish to learn the genius of that language, the temperament and character of the people of Bengal, their basic insight and their values, have to learn the Bengali language. We always say, "If you want to know Shakespeare, learn the English language. If you want to know Dante, learn Italian." So also, if the authors of the Bengali literature are to be understood, we must try to understand their language. It is a wrong idea to think that it is difficult for us to learn other languages. There are people in this world who know more than half a dozen languages; the only thing is that instruction should begin at the proper age.

I should like to congratulate also the prize-winners and those to whom certificates have been awarded. They have shown great love and devotion for the Bengali language. I wish to congratulate them again, and hope that, unlike many others, they will keep up their interest in the language till the end of their lives. I should like to congratulate Mr Ghosh, who has been the life and soul of this Samity, on the good work that he has been doing.

Speech at the 27th Convocation of the Nikhil Bharat Banga Bhasa Prasar Samity, Calcutta, 24 September, 1963

THE CULTURED MIND

FRIENDS : two years ago I had the honour of laying the foundation-stone of this Assembly Hall. It is always a risk that you take when you lay foundation-stones. Sometimes only the stones remain. More often they disappear! Here we have the good fortune of a building which has sprung up on the site which was selected by Shrimati Rukmini Devi two years ago when I had the pleasure of laying the foundation-stone for it.

The Kalākṣetra has done a great deal for artistic revival in this part of the country. Many of the famous singers and dancers whom we come across in different parts of India were trained in this Kalākṣetra. They always remember with gratitude their period of stay in this place. She has brought together an illustrious company of eminent musicians who, with insight, thought, endeavour and skill in composition, have left a permanent mark on the history of music in our country.

She has adapted classical things to modern requirements and I have seen many of them brought out marvellously. This institution owes its inspiration and its present strength more to Shrimati Rukmini Devi than to others who also collaborated with her. I agree with Dr C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar that she would not have been able to achieve this greatness by her own single-handed endeavour. There were others who helped her; but the vision, inspiration and genius were hers, and she is responsible for the dimensions which this institution has attained today.

I listened with great attention to the prayers which were recited by the representatives of different religions. You see there one basic quality. You see the quality of the potential divinity of man. The four Vedas have emphasized the potential spirituality of every human being. The Christian prayer just recited spoke of the immortal heritage of which we are the inheritors. We are the children of immortality. The Buddha tells us that *mahā karuṇa chittam* is to be found in every human individual. The Muslim prayer looks upon God as the Merciful, the Compassionate. A Muslim saint said that we are born once from the womb; we are born a second time through our own self-knowledge. Almost all the prayers that were uttered today talk about the need for the deepening of one's awareness and extending one's objects of compassion. We all are talking about these things; but there is very little practice to bring to a realization this spiritual character of man. We live on the surface. We do not know what we want, and we do not want what we know. Our life is nothing more than a succession of sensations : we pass from one thing to

Speech at inauguration of the New Centre of Kalākṣetra at Tiruvanmiyur, Madras, 26 September, 1963

another. I saw a room dedicated to meditation. I asked myself how many people do meditate truly? I asked one of my most illustrious friends to meditate for a little while, and he told me, "When I shut my eyes, I see newspapers coming up before me and anecdotes pass through my mind." To have the capacity to concentrate your mind on one single purpose is not a thing which you can have easily. It requires great practice, great concentration. Even for a little thing we do require it. Absolute attention is complete prayer. If you are able to attend to any one thing completely, concentratedly, that is the highest kind of prayer that you can submit to the Divine. Most of us pass out of this world without recognizing that spiritual possibility in us. That has been the misfortune of this world. It is the misfortune of the world today. Great intellectuals that we are, we are able to do wonderful things; but have we explored the possibilities of our inner life? Have we been able to understand what it is that distinguishes us from the animal creation?; what it is that makes a human being a human being? Solitude, capacity to meditate, capacity to concentrate—these are the things which are essential.

For the cultured mind, there is one goal and all activities are turned towards the attainment of that goal. For an uncultured mind, it is many-branched, endless. If we are to get all these things to converge on one single root, on one single path, what is essential is this kind of devotion to the Supreme. By love of God, you get detached from the rest of the world. If you want to develop *vairāgya* or dispassion, the first essential is that you should have *anurāga* or passionate concern for the Supreme. That is what you are expected to do. We do not have it. We are neurotic, unstable, hysterical; we want to take sedatives to go to sleep, and we require a stimulant to get up from our beds. That is the position in which we are.

Recently I was on a visit to the United States of America. A set of young men and women came up to me and asked me, "What is wrong with us?" I said, "There is nothing wrong with you. Why do you assume there is anything wrong with you?" They replied, "No Sir, do not flatter us; there is something wrong with us." I told them, "Well, if you insist, I am telling you something. Your Founding Fathers came to this country; they had abounding faith and they had the pioneering spirit. Their pioneering spirit enabled them to develop amazing economic prosperity. There is a danger that in this prosperity you might lose an abiding faith which you also have. I do not say you have lost it. I say there is a danger of your losing it." Why is it that in affluent societies, where people have everything to eat and drink, we have the largest number of suicides? Man does not live by wealth alone. The Upaniṣads say that. Not by means of wealth can a man fulfil himself. He requires other dimensions which he has

to develop. If he does not develop them, he dies an unfulfilled being. In the midst of plenty, he suffers from spiritual poverty. It is that spiritual poverty that has led times without number to lives of frustration and made people even give up their lives. That is why it is essential for us to remember all that these prayers have brought to our attention, that is, that a man's life should get into the dimension of depth. If you are able to do anything with a sense of seriousness, earnestness and purposefulness, you will be happy. But if you do it merely because you have to do it, you are unhappy. We are perpetually turning between the good and the pleasant. We prefer the pleasant to what is good for us. Hence there is suffering.

If this world is to be retrieved, an essential thing is the development of this art of meditation, of cleansing ourselves, of the churning of our minds and allowing our deepest passions to come out to face them clearly, austerely.

There is a world of difference between loneliness and solitude. Most of us are lonely in a crowd. But when we are alone we are not solitary because we have an eternal companion by our side. Whatever activity we indulge in, the eternal companion is there, the perpetual friend is present there. If we are not able to recognize this thing, we may be in a crowd and we may feel lonely; we may be alone and yet feel more or less sociable in our character. Compassion is the necessary quality of this deepest awareness. If we recognize that every human being has a spark of the divine, if we know that he has this element, that the invisible arms of the divine are supporting him even when he does the most atrocious crime, we will never judge another harshly. Deepen your awareness and extend your objects of compassion. If you are able to do that, you are truly a human being.

My friend Shrimati Rukmini Devi said that art is something which elevates. When does it elevate? It does not elevate by merely touching your senses, when it merely instructs your mind. But when it touches your depth, when it is able to devastate your being, give you new eyes with which you are able to see a new world, if you are able to do that, then art elevates. It is deep calling to the deep. Kālidāsa, replying to a question about why a painting was not authentic, said that meditation or concentration had become impaired. The painter had not been full of concentration and his attention had wandered; therefore, the painting itself had failed. So *samādhi*, or concentration, is essential not merely for the production of great literature or the production of great art, but for the production of greatness in everything, whether in scientific discovery, technological device, literary production, or artistic excellence. Man must throw himself completely into the object; he must be able to impregnate what he sees with the

intensity of his own experience. He must be able to feel, he must drown himself out there. That is ecstasy. Unless you are able to get that kind of feeling, you will never produce great art. That is why I am happy that in this institution you are trained to develop not merely your senses and intellect but your spirit also. It is when the deep calls to the deep that there is transformation of your whole being. It is that transformation Shrimati Rukmini Devi had in her mind when she spoke about the spiritual quality of art. Art ennobles, it lifts you up, makes you a different being, and art is something which we should cultivate.

This institution is dedicated to the development of art in our country and is a centre for, as Dr C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar said, philosophical reflection, artistic endeavour and ethical practice. When you do that, you will have done a great service not merely to this country but to the whole of humanity. With all my will and with all my heart, I wish this institution all success.

THE LITERATURE OF KERALA

I AM not a stranger to this Conference. I had the privilege of presiding over the annual conference of the Parishad at Ottapalam in 1952. When Kerala was in three units, Cochin, Travancore and Malabar, this Conference served to preserve a sense of belonging among all Kerala people. The people of Kerala work in different parts of this country. They are to be found perhaps in all parts of India, and so their literature has also had the impact of the other literatures of our country. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Kerala people are the most literate in the country and that literacy here is not mere literacy but is education with the result that men and women here have good grounding in Sanskrit also.

The function of literature is to infuse a sense of fellowship and reconciliation among people. It must not only mirror facts but develop a sense of values. Great literature is born of intense experience. When we pass through that experience, we reflect on it and the essence of it is mirrored in great literature.

Mere portrayal of facts, or intellectual analysis of things, is not enough to make for great literature. Deep must call to the deep.

The people of Kerala have produced great literature in ancient and modern times. Śaṁkara, though essentially a philosopher, produced immortal works of literature.

Speech inaugurating the 28th Conference of the Samastha Kerala Sahitya Parishad, Trivandrum, 29 September, 1963

It will be invidious to mention the names of great modern Malayalam writers but Ulloor Parameswara Iyer and Vallathol Narayana Menon leap to one's memory. I had the honour of knowing them both a little. It is my hope that this Conference will stimulate the creative talents of the people of Kerala.

NATIONAL TRADITIONS AND THE UNIVERSITY

MR Chancellor and friends : I am very happy to be here and inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the University of Kerala. I should like to thank you for your kind thought in admitting me to your academic community. On an occasion like this, it is only fair for us to remember those who with their vision, courage and strength started this idea of a university. So it is most appropriate that your Chancellor should have referred to the Maharaja of Travancore and the able Dewan then, Dr C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar who is happily with us today, who were responsible for the foundation of this University.

Universities are the means by which traditions of a country—intellectual, artistic and ethical—and the technical skills are transmitted from one generation to another. These are institutions which make for the progress of any community. We deal here with human beings, not with dead material. These are aims to make them full human beings. Education is for the whole man—to think, to feel, to do, to be. These are the aims which we should set before ourselves. Without thought, nothing great can be achieved. Even the gods are supposed to have performed *tapas,* as Panini tells us. *Ālochana* is reflection, discussion. It is reviewing matters. We must think. All the progress we have achieved in this world is due to the work of the great thinkers, and so far as this thinking process is concerned, it is not right for us to segregate ourselves. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the great scientists, Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler and Newton, who advanced science, came from different countries—the first was a Pole, the second an Italian, the third a German and the fourth an Englishman. In 1942 when the atom was split in the squash-court of Chicago University, you found there the representatives of nearly a dozen nations. They all worked together for bringing about that great splitting of the atom which has resulted in so many things and which, if properly used, might tend to establish a paradise on this earth. If abused, the result will be different.

Speech at the inauguration of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Kerala University at Trivandrum, 30 September, 1963

Most of us think that we think. Many of us are afraid to think : such would rather be dead than think, because it is too dangerous to think or start innovations. For one man who thinks, a thousand repeat what that man says, and they do not think at all. But the progress of the world is due to the thought mechanism of human beings. All the great innovations which we have had in recent times and which have led to the alleviation of misery—discovery of anaesthesia, radio-therapy, nuclear energy—these have all been the discoveries of enterprising individuals whose minds have been constantly at work. To them we owe a great deal.

But to think is not enough. We may have the right thought, but we may not have the inclination to put that right thought into practice. We know now that nuclear energy, if used for wrong purposes, will bring about the destruction of humanity. But we are not afraid of the disastrous consequences : the human being is so made that even if he rationally anticipates the consequences of a particular course of action, he does not shrink from it. Something more is necessary : we know the right, we cannot do it. We know the wrong, we cannot abstain from it. Some 2,000 years ago Aristotle made out that ideas were not enough; they might become inert, they might become inactive, they might not enter into the life of the society. You must meet the people, persuade them and make them love the right and hate the wrong. Next come feeling nobly and thinking rightly. If we have the two things together, it will be possible for us to do the right thing. In other words, inflexible determination, great will, can be used for translating ideas into realities. Right ideas can be put into practice if we are able to love them, to feel for them, to concentrate on them all our emotions, making people understand that this is not merely intellectually right but that it is emotionally noble.

Your Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor both referred to the important part which this part of the country has played in the development of arts and culture. Even today the Kathakali art is well known throughout the country. The civilizing of the emotions and the refining of the impulses are very essential if a man is not to become a mutilated human being. When once we have the right idea and we have also the right feeling for it, action inevitably ensues. It is possible, as we have learnt in the course of history, that people may have good thoughts, may feel the right feelings and yet behave in an atrocious way. There was nothing lacking in Hitler's Germany. Intellectually it was at its height and the Germans were bred to love certain things; but they did certain things and the world was frightened, and the civilized world got together and tried to put an end to Hitlerism. Was intellectual discipline lacking there ? Was feeling for what they considered to be right lacking there ? Was action lacking there ? All these

three things were there. You had thinking, you had feeling, you had being; but only they were adjusted to a wrong end. That is why I say : to think, to feel, to do and to *be*. That is the most important thing—the *being*. How your different impulses are oriented, how your whole nature is adjusted, how you are able to attain tranquillity of being, how you are able to penetrate behind all the layers and understand the purpose for which this universe is created and to co-operate with that purpose; to understand the mind of events, to understand the will of the age, to understand contemporary trends; to understand that we are born here to work together, not to hate one another, to understand that we are all co-partners in one task and not rivals; for that something deeper is necessary. You must develop that tranquillity of being, that composure of spirit, that calmness which comes to you by deep reflection on the implications of your sciences, of your feelings and of your action. It is only then that it will be possible for you to direct the energies of that feeling and will to a common purpose. Man is a composite being—thinking, feeling and willing. More than these three things, he has a spirit. He has a soul; he has something which is unique, which is not possessed by others. Each individual must regard himself as unique. You will get that uniqueness by yourself if you understand the implications of your thought, feeling and will.

It is said in one of our śāstras :

sarva śāstra prayojanaṁ tatva darśanaṁ

The need of all the śāstras, of all our sciences, is the insight into reality. Our people have been wise enough to tell us that we should not accept anything on authority. No dogma is to be forced down our throats. It is the Buddha who said :

parīkṣya viksavo grāhyaṁ
mat vaco nātha gauravāt

Do not accept what I say out of *gaurava,* or regard for me. Examine it, test it in your life, test it by logic and then, if you are satisfied, accept it. They never regarded even religion as exempt from the scrutiny of reason. So it is that in the *Brahma Sūtra* you have the second *sūtra* which tells us :

janmādyasya yataḥ

He is asking you when you are enquiring into *Brahman* to find out what *Brahman* is, and the answer which he gives is, that from which

this world arises, etc. There are people who ask us to think for ourselves, and thinking for ourselves we look at the universe. And the *Bhṛguvalli* of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* tells us :

vṛgur vai vāruṇiḥ varuṇaṁ pitaraṁ
upasasāra adhīhi bhagavo brahmeti
tapasā brahma vijijñāsasva tapo brahma
yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante
yena jātāni jīvanti yat prayantyabhisaṁviśanti tad brahma

He says that that from which all things are derived, by which they are sustained, into which they are dissolved, that is *Brahman,* that is the Ultimate Reality; the Ultimate Principle which stands behind the panorama of this world, which is responsible for the movement from matter to life, life to mind, mind to intelligence, intelligence to spirit, that is the Ultimate Reality. Understand that. Einstein said, "When I look at this world, when I look at all the problems, marvels and mysteries of this world, I cannot escape from the feeling that there is an eternal cosmic mystery behind it."

Only the other day, about two months ago, I had a BBC talk with Bertrand Russell. We were both talking for about 45 minutes. As we entered the room, he told me, "Do not talk about religion, we will have a first-class discussion." At the end of it all, he held up his hand and told the moderator in that discussion, "I feel that I am an incomplete human being, having missed the comforts and consolations of religion. I hope to complete myself by understanding the mysteries of science." Science itself is a marvel and a mystery. I wish to quote only the two examples, Einstein and Bertrand Russel thinking that there is something deeper than the surface of events, that there is something without which we cannot account for this world. It is that kind of feeling that they had. After all we worship Truth. He is said to be *Satyavān, Satyasvarūpī, Satyanārāyana :* give Him whatever name you feel, He is the Truth, and it is the knowing of that Truth which, according to the Christian scriptures, will make us free. This is the same thing, *jñānāt mokṣa.* By understanding the truth, you get liberation, you get *mokṣa* or freedom. That is what we say. Know the truth and the truth will make you free. And Saṁkarācārya asserted that unless you had *jñāna* or wisdom, you could not have *mokṣa* or liberation. You find, therefore, that if you think deeply, if you think inwardly, if you think to the root of the matter, if you get behind things, everything is not as clear, as patent as some of us seem to imagine. There is a mystery underlying this world, and it is the grasping of that mystery which makes a human being a worthwhile human being. If we do not understand that mystery, we are

incomplete; we are like human animals, *nara paśu,* merely grovelling, living on the surface, passing on from one thing to another; that is what we will become. If we know the truth of things, and if we know also that that truth underlies the whole panorama of the world, the whole process of the universe which has come about from being a molten mass of fire to the present stage when people are circling the globe and telling us that they are going to reach the moon and taking photographs there —if you ask what all this is due to, it is due to that great Spirit which is invisible but is there in each human individual. It is the Spirit in man that is responsible for all the advances we have made, and that Spirit is the Spirit of love, is the Spirit of compassion—*prema-svarūpī;* He is not merely *Satyavān* but He is also the embodiment of love, the embodiment of compassion. Individuals prostrate themselves in different ways, surrender themselves in complete devotion and in utter spontaneity to that Supreme One and say, "We are your children, bless us, guide us on from step to step." It is the *Gāyatrī* which tells us, "Illumine my understanding." It is the *Gītā* which tells us that love alone redeems our lives. Without love, we are merely creatures, creatures of bone and muscle, flesh and blood, not human spirits; if we have these two things : if we believe in the reality of the supreme mystery and if we understand that that supreme mystery is love, our action is inevitable, our action is reverence for every living human being. We cannot have any other attitude. Whatever changes and chances may occur in this world, whatever vicissitudes we may pass through, we still believe that there is a Supreme Being. In spite of our difficulties, in spite of all the mistakes and blunders which we commit, this world will go on until it achieves its destiny. Of course, things do not become better of their own accord. We cannot leave everything to chance. Here, so far as human history is concerned, the individual is called upon to co-operate with the process of the world. God has called us to be co-operative with Him. He has invited us to this great feast of humanity where we are called upon to bring about a human family on earth, where nations will regard themselves as merely expressions of different tendencies and will feel that it is their duty to co-operate with one another. That is the purpose of this universe, and that is what we should all try to achieve. We can get that feeling if we understand the implications of science, if we understand the implications of art.

What is art ? : *kaṁ paramātmānaṁ lāti gṛhṇāti iti kalā.* It is that by which you grasp the eternal. That is what art is, and all great action is the result of that kind of consecrated service, of that kind of complete dedication to a task which you take up. It is difficult, it is not easy, and we may suffer. All the great people of the world have suffered. Without suffering they never achieved anything

great. So, when you come to practical action, so many circumstances are there, so many conditions prevail and you are not able to do what you wish to do. But then you will be helped.

The waves of the shore may be broken; but the ocean conquers. Agitation is on the surface. Deep down there is perpetual calm. Any individual, if he wishes to regard himself as a truly educated one, must think freely, feel nobly, act rightly, be unattached. The *Gītā* says : *yogasthaḥ kuru karmāṇi saṅgaṁ tyaktvā dhanañjaya.* Deeply seated in equanimity, in complete unanimity, with a kind of equipoise, do your work. You must do your work with a sense of complete detachment. *Abhaya, asaṅga* and *ahiṁsā* will be the marked features of a truly religious individual. I am not talking about those who pass for being religious in this world. They have their vested interests. They have their own particular prejudices. But the authentically religious man has no group loyalty. He is not bound down by any prejudices, assumptions and traditions or dogmatism. He has calmness and composure. That should be the aim which this University should have. Help the students to think rightly, make them feel nobly, let them do rightly; above all, let them possess that spirit.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S MESSAGE

MR Chancellor and friends : it gives me very great pleasure to be here and lay the foundation-stone of the new University Campus of Kerala and the Gandhi Bhavan attached to it.

Kerala has been known for its great interest in education. There is practically universal literacy here. A third of the State's revenues is spent on education. Nearly four million youngsters go to schools and colleges here. It is a record of which any State may be proud. There is great anxiety on the part of our young men to get the benefits of higher education, and no one who has the brains should be denied the opportunity. Therefore, the numbers going to the universities will increase steadily.

Apart from that, knowledge itself is growing beyond measure. Subjects which were not thought of when we were students are now considered of great importance. Nuclear physics and space research are two illustrations of the way in which knowledge has been increasing by leaps and bounds in our own lifetime. You also find an increasing interest in specialization. You do, therefore, need a larger campus,

Speech at laying the foundation-stone of the new University Campus and the Gandhi Bhavan, Trivandrum, 30 September, 1963

you need more students, more teachers and more specialists. For all these things you have been able to choose a site which is soothing to the eye, stimulating to the mind, and which affords a proper environment for our youngsters to grow in body, mind and spirit.

Both the Governor, who is your Chancellor, and the Pro-Chancellor laid stress on the application of scientific knowledge to the challenging problems of our time. The greatest problem is poverty. We have to increase our agricultural production. We have to increase our industrial production. We have to vie with other nations of the world so far as scientific knowledge and research are concerned. So increasing application of science to agriculture and industry is called for. If you look into the trends of contemporary history, you will discover that almost all progressive nations of the world are today emphasizing this growing application of, and interest in, applied science.

But it should also be recognized that these are not enough. There have been great nations of the world with wonderful penetration of intellect and great scientific leadership, which have come to grief. Let us ask the question as to what happened in our own generation. We had the First World War. President Wilson announced that that war was being fought for making the world safe for democracy. What happened? Our little minds took control. We tried to suppress great peoples, we said that we must squeeze the Germans till the pips squeaked. The result was Hitler. Instead of making the world safe for democracy, we made it safe for dictatorships. Throughout the world petty and major dictatorships arose.

During the Second World War, what did we say again? : provide the peoples of the world with the four freedoms. Have we provided people with freedom from fear? The nuclear developments have aroused in all of us the fear of a nightmare world. We cannot go to sleep without a sense of fear since the end of the Second World War. Till today we have the cold war, though it may not be the hot war.

What is it that is lacking? It is here that Gandhiji comes to our rescue. He tells us that it is not enough to grow in intellect, to grow in body, to amass wealth. Let not people imagine that the one main interest in life is to acquire wealth, protect it, retain it. This is a kind of materialism that has dominated the peoples of the world. Their interest is not in the inward pursuits of life, but in external acquisitions. An acquisitive mind has produced a sick society, and if we want to get rid of the sickness of our society, we have to supplement our education by a proper emphasis on ethics. Enlightenment and ethics are both essential for a proper system of education. The universities may provide us with scientific equipment, scientific training, they may give us all the knowledge that we have, but that knowledge should become illumined. It must become lustrous. What

we learn must not be mere intellectual learning but must become something luminous which transforms our nature and makes us somewhat different from what we happen to be. Therefore, Gandhiji said, "Do not put all your stress on the material interests of life." Men are not satisfied with mere wealth. What shall it profit a man, says Jesus, if he gains the whole world but loses his own soul?

Most of us are interested today in gaining control over the world. We are not developing the other aspect of nature, the spiritual side of us which is being forgotten in this accumulation of the appurtenances of life. Life does not consist merely in its outer embroidery. It consists in inwardness, freedom. It is, therefore, an essential part of nature.

When you talk of science, what do you mean by science? Science means the remoulding of environment. It is wrong to think that the purpose of education is life-adjustment. It is life-enhancement, transforming life to suit our needs, to subject ourselves to the environment which is the opportunity given to this species to improve the environment, to change our nature. That is the opportunity which is given to man, and it is possible because a human being can sit in judgment on nature; he does not become merely a creature of routine. He is something different from all other animals which are the victims of habit and sheer necessity and which are automata. That is not the way in which life can be improved. Science itself tells us of the superiority of the human spirit to the whole material world. It is this human spirit that affirms that the world can be remoulded, recast. All the changes that have taken place in this world from the beginning of history till today are changes that have taken place on account of the push which the human spirit has given to the forces of this world. So science, if it affirms anything, does not affirm the omnipotence of matter, or the finality of materialism, but affirms the superiority of the human spirit to the material world. That is the lesson of science. If we know that, we will be able to discover that there is an element in us which is not a matter of routine or rigidity, which is not a matter of mere automatism or habit, but which is something that transcends the whole past, something that makes us go forward.

We have done ever so many things in this world in the name of habit or tradition of which we are ashamed today. A generation later there will be many things of which we will be ashamed if we think of them—the way in which we are preparing these nuclear armaments for the destruction of one another. It is producing an atmosphere of fear. What we have to be freed from is fear itself, and this fear is there because man is not able to trust his brother man. Man is intended to be trustful, to be loving, to create and not to destroy. Because we have not held to that position, all these other troubles have come upon

us. So it is that Gandhiji tells us about freedom from fear, *abhaya:* never to be afraid of what things will bring you. But if you think, you will see that these things themselves have been recast and that society has been reshaped. The present challenge is a challenge that we should re-create society, that we should not quarrel about political ideologies or religions but try to understand one another.

All the great scriptures of the world have affirmed one fact : as there are souls in this world, so are there pathways to God. Infinite is God, infinite the soul of man, and infinite the pathways. There is no need for us to stereotype them, to bring them down to any particular principle, rigidity or anything like that. We should beware of every kind of dogmatism, religious, philosophical or political. There is no occasion for the free spirit of man to be consigned to dogmas of any character. Gandhiji asserted in his prayer hymns and in his books that we should all worship one God and that we should not bother very much about the way in which we worship that God. It has been my good fortune to talk in churches, mosques, monasteries, synagogues, *gurudwaras* and Parsi temples without any injury to my spiritual conviction or compromise to my intellectual conscience. If you go to a place where there is solemnity, where there is the spirit of religion, where people are looking not to themselves but to something superior to that which is prevailing in this world, you have to bow down, bend your knees and join others in the worship of the One Supreme.

It is my hope that this Gandhi Bhavan will infuse into you that spirit. Enlightenment and ethics are the two things essential for the full development of a human being : enlightenment in your libraries, your laboratories, in your class-rooms, your lecture rooms. Ethics and meditation develop your soul, improving the mind and making it something different from what you find it to be. There is nothing so unnatural as human nature : it is something which is perpetually capable of responding to new circumstances. We gave up slavery, we gave up duelling. Here in this place there was the Temple-Entry proclamation. I went to Tirupati and was told that before the Harijans were admitted, the offerings were rupees 10 lakhs; today, the offerings are rupees 150 lakhs because they also go to the temple.

The spirit of God will be satisfied with the worship and adoration which people give. There are ever so many things which we do which are obnoxious, which should not be done by beings who call themselves human. I had occasion to talk to a large audience of over two lakhs of people at Calcutta. I was just telling them that the fundamental spirit of God did not require us to make any blood sacrifice. If God wants blood, He will take my blood; if He wants life, He will take my life. I gave them a pledge. I told them to think of God seriously, not take Him for granted by merely muttering *mantras* and reciting

hymns but understand and try to penetrate into the cosmic mystery. If we are able to do it, we will not hate other people, we will not get angry with them, we will have no cause for resentment, we will feel a sense of brotherhood prevailing over the whole world. That is what we are required to do.

What we require is not the closed societies which are hostile to one another. We do require a society where everybody will feel drawn to everybody else because they are all born of the same substance, come from the same blood. If you are hewn from the same rock, if you spring from the same source, how can there be distinction between *mitra* and *amitra,* between friend and foe? There cannot be any distinction like that. These passing insanities which divide man from man, these hostilities which have sprung up by sinful indoctrination which makes you believe that you are the repositories of all wisdom and that others are groping in the dark, and that you are called upon to bring them out of that darkness into the sphere of light—these are all things which we will outlive. I remember speaking with someone on a Christian platform in New York City. The question raised there was: what happened to Socrates and Plato, to Ramakrishna and Gandhiji? His answer was that they might not belong to the Church of Christ or to the religion of the Buddha or to the religion of Prophet Muhammad, but they belonged to the one Church of God Universal. That is what a great Catholic theologian said. It is that which Gandhiji said; it is that which has come down to us as a long-standing spiritual tradition. It is that which we have to affirm every day of our lives. When you are angry, when you are intemperate, when you are resentful, when you find fault with others, a more possible explanation may be that you are in fault: a more modest theory is to think that you are yourself in fault and not the other man. That was the principle for which Gandhiji stood, and I do hope that this University and this new Campus where you have "Gandhi Bhavan" will remind you that there are other things than science and technology, and that you will go forward establishing the true reign of God on earth.

SOLIDARITY AMONG INDIANS

FRIENDS: I am happy to be here today and inaugurate the Nanji Kalidas Mehta International House. It is intended to promote solidarity among Indians here and Indians who are settled abroad.

Speech at the inauguration of the Nanji Kalidas Mehta International House of Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj, Bombay, 1 October, 1963

In our country, as Shri Patil said in his speech, the influence of our culture has been going abroad since the 4th century B.C., possibly earlier, possibly later. When you go to the countries, Indonesia, Indo-China, Cambodia in the east, or East Africa and South Africa and other places, you will find traces of the influence of our culture. Let me assert first that we have had no political ambitions of establishing any kind of conquest over these kingdoms. We never had them, we do not have today. But the influence has been cultural, literary, artistic and religious. Many countries owe their allegiance to the Buddha. The story of the Buddha is something of which every Indian is proud. He tells us that if you wish to escape from suffering, you should develop understanding and increase compassion : *prajñā* and *karuṇā*.

Prajñā is the deepening of your awareness, making yourself into a spiritual being. *Karuṇā* is the quality in which *prajñā* manifests itself. It is compassion for the whole of humanity. We never tried to have any kind of boundaries with regard to the objects of our compassion. When you say that you are an Indian, whether settled abroad or settled here, the matter is not one of geography but of history. What is the tradition for which you stand ? What are the ideals to which you adhere ? Why do you think that the ideals for which India has stood will have some quality of healing so far as the struggles of nations are concerned ? If you put questions like these, you get an obvious answer : it is not the caste, it is not the untouchability; it is not the different forms of marriage or the different forms of adoption but it is the great ideals of *abhaya, asaṅga* and *ahiṁsā*.

Abhaya is freedom from fear. The Upaniṣad starts by saying : *asato mā sadgamaya tamaso mā jyotirgamaya mṛtyormā amṛtaṁgamaya* This world is *asat*. It is subject to mortality. It is dark. How can I get out of this world ? If this world were all darkness, and death were all, there can be no promise of redemption for the human being. But the Upaniṣad thinkers say that there is a Reality which transcends this universe. It gives you freedom from fear. If annihilation were all, if the tyranny of time were all, if there is nothing more than this devouring death, all things will pass away, civilizations and great monuments of history will pass away. Is there anything which is exempt from this law of mutation, from this law of change ? And the answer is given that there is such a thing. And it is the perception of that Reality underlying this cosmic process which gives us tranquillity, which gives us some kind of freedom. The Buddha said exactly the same thing. He looked at a dead body, a sick body, an old body. And a man came, a recluse. The Buddha asked : who are you ? His answer was : *he narapuṅgava janma mṛtyu bhītaḥ śramaṇaḥ pravrajito'smi mokṣa hetoḥ*. *Janma* and *mṛtyu* are the symbols of time. Afraid of them, I have come to find out whether there is any way of escape from this!

and to this the Buddha's answer was, "I will become a recluse, I will go out and try to search a path which will take me from this world of time to a world of eternity;" and he called it *nirvāṇa.* Everyone said this, "Thou shalt walk in the travail of this thing, but the gates of hell will not prevail if once you know what the truth of things is." *Abhaya*, freedom from fear, is possible only with the perception of that cosmic mystery which underlies this whole cosmic process. Once you have it, you need not run away from the world. Seeing the truth in solitude does not mean that you should not engage yourself in public affairs. You have to do it. But you have to do it in a spirit of detachment, in a spirit of *asaṅga.* This is what it says : *yoga, yogasthaḥ kuru karmāṇi saṅgaṁ tyaktvā dhanañjaya.* Perform your works well established in *yoga*, in that state of *samādhi,* in that state of equanimity. That is what you should do. And so far as this world is concerned, what should be your attitude ? We say it should be one of *ahiṁsā*, non-violence. Non-violence does not mean that the surgeon should not do his operation. It means *vairatyāga*, renunciation of hatred. That is the only principle you have been called upon to adopt. *Abhaya, asaṅga, ahiṁsā:* these constitute the qualities of Indianness. If you want to know what *Bhāratīya* culture stands for, it does not stand for so many other things for which it is mistaken but it stands for these things. This has given you an attitude of absolute toleration. When the Upaniṣadic *ṛṣi* was asked the way to gain salvation, what was his answer ? He did not say that there was a royal road which took us to salvation. He said, "Even as the birds fly in the air, even as the fish swim in the sea, leaving no traces behind, even so is the pathway to God traversed by the seeker of spirit." The seeker of spirit has written in the blood of his own heart his pathway to God. There are as many ways to God as there are human souls, and it is therefore impertinent for one to question the pathway which is being adopted by another human being. That kind of hospitality, not mere hospitality but a hospitality which tries to appreciate you and give you every kind of assistance, you can possibly have.

If the geography of India consists of this extensive territory from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari, the history of India consists of the formulation of these great ideals for which this country has stood from its beginning. Anyone who calls himself an Indian must know something about what this culture stands for. It has not been made by any race, any one religion or any one sect : it is a thing which grew up in this soil by the commingling of peoples in the unity of all religions. It is that for which our country has stood. I was there the other day in Indonesia. I saw a professor of Sanskrit there who wrote a thesis on "Agastya in the Archipelago." I asked him, "What is this ? You have started with the invocations to Sarasvati and Ganeśa." He said, "Yes, that is our culture. Our faith may be something else. But our culture

is the Indian culture, and we still worship these things." The most popular drama there is *Arjunavivāha*.

I went to Cambodia some years ago and in a banquet speech which the King, the father of Prince Sihanouk, made, he said, "We are your spiritual descendants. A man called Kaundinya came from south India years ago, defeated the Cambodian princess, married her, settled down, established his dynasty, and we are the spiritual descendants of that dynasty. The name Khmer civilization which you give to that comes from the word Khmeru of which Kaundinya was a citizen here." The civilization is called Khmer civilization. They had a temple of Kṛṣṇa about 500 B.C. in Egypt. Aśoka sent his missionaries to different countries and some went West, some East. You find, wherever you go, a kind of cultural atmosphere which makes you feel at home. I have travelled in different parts of the world—in Africa, in America, South and North, in Asia, but there has not been a place in which I did not find myself absolutely at home. For when you have the liberality of spirit, the kind of true philosophical or balanced outlook, you are able to see that all these people have exactly the same kind of impulses, the same hunger, the same emotions and the same kind of propensities, which make mankind one.

Today the world is moving towards a single whole. Science and technology and the means of transport and communications have brought the whole world together. Physical unification has taken place. Intellectually also, the same ideas, the same cinemas, the same scientific things spread through the whole world. That is what you find. Politically, there is either democracy or dictatorship—these are the things which you come across. Economic alliances are taking place. But deep down, there is some kind of cussedness which has prevented humanity from settling down in an atmosphere of freedom from fear, an atmosphere of what we call *abhaya*. We have developed nuclear instruments to the highest extent. But ethically we are still backward; nuclear geniuses and ethical dwarfs, that is what we happen to be. It is because on the nuclear side we have been able to throw up such spectacular developments that we are afraid of one another and are living in an atmosphere of distrust and fear. It is in the correction of this imbalance, this maladjustment, which has thrown us all into this present condition, that, if we are true to ourselves, if we are true to the great ideals which we have announced from the time of Upaniṣads and Buddha down to Ramakrishna and Gandhiji, if we are able to stand by them, come what may, irrespective of the consequences, it will be possible for us to help the world to settle down.

When I heard about the places from which subscriptions were collected for this building, I remembered my own visits to them. I was in South Africa in 1939, I was in Mombasa, Nairobi, Kampala, Nyasaland,

Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam, almost all the places mentioned by my friend Shri Patil here. Everywhere, if you are able to rise above your petty prejudices, you get a heartening response. Remember what Gandhiji told us : "I don't wish to live in a world which is not united." Another thing that he said was, "A fallen and prostrate India cannot be of any help to herself or to the world. A free and enlightened India can be of help to herself and to the world. I want my country to become free so that one day, if necessary, she may die that the world may live." That is the principle for which this country has stood. This country has not put material survival higher than spiritual values. It has always given the most important place to spiritual values and subordinated material things. Why is it that in our country, even the leaders of politics are men of religion—take for example Gandhiji, Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekananda, take them all. Why did they make an impression on this country ?; not on account of political wisdom, but on account of the spirit of austerity, spirit of renunciation, of which they were the exemplars; because they were able to expound in their own lives the austerity for which this country has stood.

santo bhūmiṁ
tapasā dhārayanti

The saints by their *tapas* sustain this world. It is not the magnates, it is not the people who are always immersed in acquiring wealth, possessing it and retaining it, adopting a policy of mere materialism, it is not such people who have made this country live today. It lives because of the thousands of people even in our own time who, unknown to name and fame, are suffering, are lacerating their flesh and torturing their minds that the spirit in them may be kept alive. It is these people who are the salt of this country. It is they who have helped this country to survive to this day.

This is a country which never adopted a bigoted, intolerant attitude towards the followers of other religions. We welcomed the Jews when their temple in Jerusalem was destroyed, we welcomed the Christians, we welcomed the Parsis, we have the Muslims with us. It is our pride that these followers of different religions live together in amity and harmony. The spirit of this country is renunciation and friendship for all. *Maitrī* in all things, that has been the policy. When we say that we are Indians, that we are Bharatiyas, we must remember that the true quality of Indianness does not consist in our being merely born in this place, but in our developing certain outlooks, attitudes and dispositions which have been associated with this country from time immemorial.

My friend Shri Patil tells me that there is to be set up a Research Centre here. I welcome it. A Research Centre is necessary to tell us

when we went to other countries, and what we did there. It is necessary to tell us what wrongs we committed that we should avoid, and the good things that we should adopt.

Anyone who goes out of this country and works in another country and makes his livelihood there must look upon that country as his true home. It is his duty to work for the development of that country. If you go there, earn your money, but do not have your roots there and always look to this country, you will be regarded as the British were regarded by us in this country—as people who came from outside to exploit us and make money. That should not be the attitude. This Indianness does not consist in your being here or there; it consists in your developing certain qualities. Develop them, contribute them to the service of the community among whom your work lies, and you will be able to make an immense contribution to the spread of true Indianness, which is universalism in essence.

One thing which has occurred to me, wherever I go, is the way in which people are looking to this country. Degenerate as we are, disrupted as we are, fighting as we are for personal power and all sorts of things, in spite of all these things, there are certain ideals which are embodied in the spirit of India. It will interest you to know that in different parts of the world I had to start centres of inter-religious culture, the study of different religions. I did it at Harvard University, I did it at Heidelberg in Germany, I did it in Japan. The new tendency is for peoples of different religions to live together and not fight one another. They are partners in one quest, not rivals for some kind of aggrandizement. It is that attitude which we have to develop. The world is moving towards that ideal. What is essential for it is a communion of minds and hearts. Politics, economics, science and transport have done their job. What we have to do is to give a soul to this world which has found itself a body. You have to give a conscience to this world, and you can give it if you are truly Indian.

It is my hope, it is my earnest prayer, that in this building scholars will come together, work together, and stand up for that which is the future goal of humanity. It is moving towards it. If you study events, their trend is this; if you study the spirit of our age, the will of that age is this; if you study the cosmic process, the will of Providence is this : that the world should become a single home for humanity, where differences will be there, not obliterated, but each one will be able to contribute to the development and enrichment of humanity. It is that idea, that Indianness that I wish you, Shri Patil, and your friends to help to build up in this country.

THE TASK OF REGENERATING SOCIETY

FRIENDS : it gives me very great pleasure to be here and inaugurate the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics.

You have listened to the history of this institution, the work it has achieved during fifty years. Many of the *alumni* of this College have occupied important positions in different places, as members of State Cabinets, as members of the Union Cabinet, etc. They are to be found in almost all banking establishments and commercial spheres. In other words, this institution has become today the most important and influential among institutes of commerce and economics in this country. It is only fair that on an occasion like this you should think of the founders of the institution, who with courage and vision founded this institution which has grown to its present position.

I am very pleased to note that you look upon education here in commerce and economics not as merely commerce and economics education but as full education. You have mentioned the name of Vijay Merchant as one of your greatest *alumni*. He is a great cricketer and I see in the programme that you have drawn up music and dance items. If you wish to educate the whole man, you must try to give every side of man's nature its fulfilment. The vital organism must be developed; the mind must seek satisfaction; and you must have spiritual tranquillity. The complete human being is one who develops his body, mind and spirit. It is only then that we can consider a human being a complete human being. Our *śāstras* have told us : *dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa* are all ends of life and we must try to educate every human being in the economic, the artistic, the ethical and the spiritual sides. Otherwise, education will become unbalanced and incomplete.

This country was well known for its great wealth for many centuries. When invaders came to this country, they did not come here in search of spiritual wisdom. They came in search of the great wealth of India. "The wealth of Ind" had been proverbially known, and so far as our material achievements were concerned till three centuries ago, they were not inferior to the material achievements of any other country, like the steel pillar, the architectural monuments and several dams, all of which we had in our country before modern technology came into vogue. These are illustrative of the interest our people took in the material side of life. It is a wrong notion altogether for people to imagine that we were lost in metaphysical reveries and neglected the secular aspects of life. The secular side of life received as much attention as any other, and even those who were regarded as spiritually minded were not oblivious of

Speech at inauguration of the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay, 2 October, 1963

the needs of ordinary human beings. They did not retire into forests, they did not go into monasteries, but they were there to spend their time in utter solitude. The vision that they had in solitude, they wished to bring to bear on the affairs of life. Every great teacher here has been not merely a seer of truth but a reformer of humanity. You may take it from the original Upaniṣads where it is said : *ātma rati ātma krīḍā kriyāvān brahma vidāṁ variṣṭhaḥ.* You come to the Buddha. After attaining Enlightenment, he did not retire into solitude. He came out healing the sick and helping the wounded. That was the work which he did. Come to the great *ācāryas* themselves. They were the people who wrote the great commentaries, but having written the commentaries, they wished to spread those commentaries. Why did Saṁkarācārya or Rāmānuja or any of these writers establish their *maṭhas* in different parts of the country ? Why did they tell us about the Himalayas, our northern border, that the gods guarded them and that the Daughter of Himavat protects the southernmost corner ? There we have an idea of the oneness of the country, the integrity of this land. So many people have a wrong notion that if you are an emancipated being, you must retire from work. That is utterly wrong.

Even as Śri Kṛṣṇa and Janaka, fully emancipated possessors of the supreme wisdom, engaged themselves in the task of social and national reconstruction, all the great seers of this country were people who took upon themselves the task of regenerating society. It has to be renewed at very age. New faults appear, new adjustments have to be made, new challenges have to be met, and it is the duty of the pioneers, the seers, to take an interest in the welfare of the world. We cannot leave the world to rack and ruin. Only one thing they guarded against : when you have wealth, when you have skill, these things have to be employed for the purpose of sustaining the rule of law, the rule of righteousness, the rule of dharma. When there is a conflict between material needs and spiritual claims, you must sacrifice the material needs and establish the spiritual claims. The Upaniṣad writers say : after the achievement of wisdom, let me have wealth. Wealth and prosperity in the hands of the enlightened are a source of blessing. Wealth and prosperity in the hands of the unenlightened are a curse. The human heart is both a curse and a blessing. If you are able to make your wealth an agent for the regeneration of society, it turns out to be a blessing. It turns out the other way in the case of the great malefactors of society, those who bring about ruin of society : in their case it turns out to be a curse. So the possibility of both these things are contained in the human heart; and we must try to use wealth for the purpose of helping society and not helping ourselves.

Today, when our country is passing through a crisis, the only demand that one can make on all educated men is to use their

education, their skill and their wisdom for the purpose of integrating society and not disintegrating it. When we use the concept of *dharma*, anyone who knows anything says that *dharma* is that which brings together people. *Adharma* is that which separates people, disintegrates them, makes them fall asunder, makes them turn against one another with hatred. That is something which we have to repudiate.

It is my fervent hope that those who go out of this institution will use their knowledge, their learning, their skill, their discipline, their mature minds, for the development of not a sick society, not an acquisitive society, but a society which is a real commonwealth of human beings where every man's interest is the concern of other men. That is the demand of the world. That is bound to happen. That is the purpose for which this cosmic process was created, this cosmic process started. Millions of centuries ago the molten mass of fire came up, became habitable, then came the animals, then human beings, then the God-possessed souls. These God-possessed souls are not the souls who will leave society to rack and ruin. They are the people who understand the purpose of society, who understand that the cosmic fulfilment is in the redemption of every human individual. That universal redemption is what each individual has to work for. If every individual were to be redeemed, automatically the world is redeemed. That is why *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa* should not be regarded as an escape from time or from the world, but as living in the presence of the Supreme.

Mokṣa is not running away from the world but living in the presence of that luminous consciousness which is unbounded, and working in this world as emancipated beings. Try to make your minds mature, to develop your spirit and then throw yourself into the work of the world until that purpose of Providence, namely, the redemption of humanity, is achieved. I have great pleasure in inaugurating this function.

ALL INDIA RADIO

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here this evening and inaugurate the Tenth Radio Sangeet Sammelan. It has been going on for a period of ten years with increasing success and it is my earnest hope that it may become a permanent institution so as to give encouragement to young artists whose talents are brought to light by the activities of All India Radio. I should like to congratulate the All India Radio authorities on their efforts to make this festival a success.

I should like to congratulate also the recipients of the prizes, young

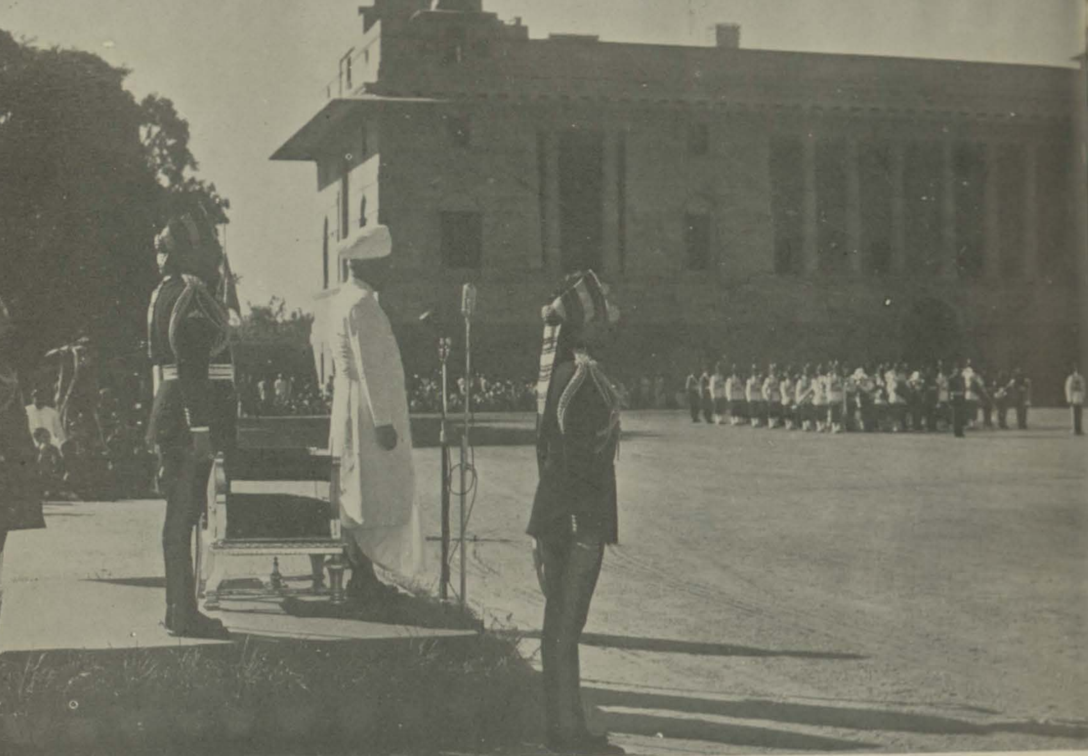
Inaugural Address at the Tenth All India Radio Sangeet Sammelan, New Delhi, 2 November, 1963



Addressing the first convocation of the All India Institute of Medical Science in New Delhi, 4 February, 1963

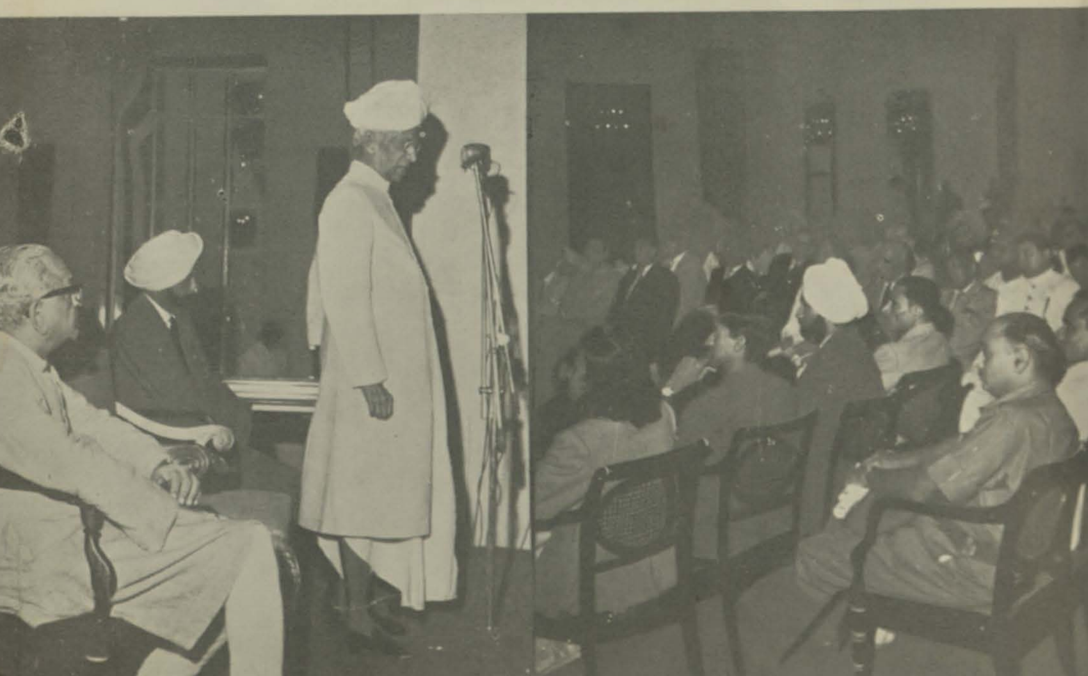
Speaking on the occasion of unveiling the statue of Sardar Patel in New Delhi, 18 September, 1963





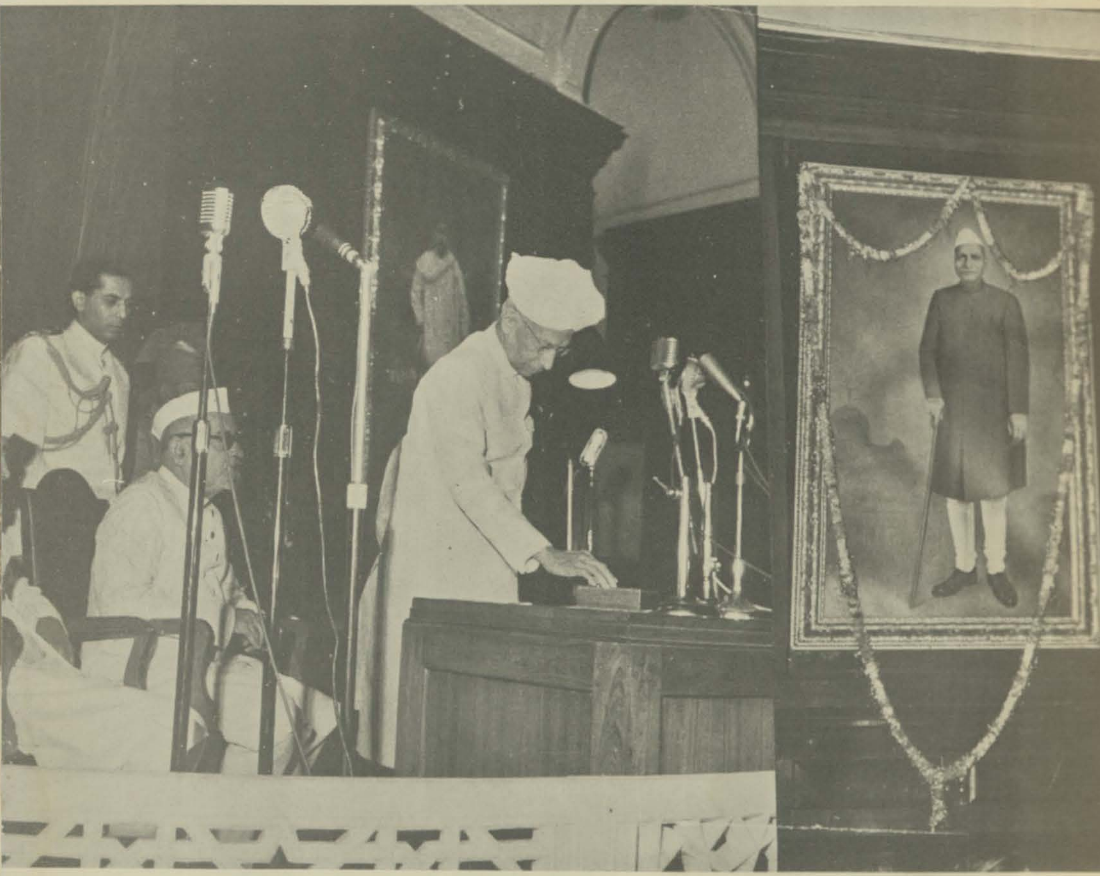
Speaking on the occasion of the presentation of the President's Standard and the Regimental Colours to the President's Bodyguard, New Delhi, 11 November, 1963

Speaking on the occasion of the presentation of the Arjuna Awards to outstanding sportsmen, New Delhi, 2 April, 1964





Speaking at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Tuberculosis Association of India, New Delhi, 4 April, 1964



At the unveiling of a portrait of Dr Rajendra Prasad in Parliament House, New Delhi, 5 May, 1964

and old, mostly young, and some handicapped people also, who have been able to win prizes.

The different kinds of activities programmed by All India Radio have been enumerated to you by both the Director and the Minister. I do not wish to enlarge on it. I should like to say that I am a regular listener of the "Vandana" programme, and I think that to listen to it is both a delight and a discipline. In this world of declining moral standards which is facing a crisis of lost values, it is something for us to be reminded every day that all is not lost, that the clouds will disperse, that the sun will shine again. It is that kind of hope that these devotional songs give us. I have asked the Prime Minister and many of my friends to listen to the daily programmes. We cannot do more. And this Radio programme bringing together musicians of all parts of the country specializing in different types of music—Karnatak, Hindustani, etc.,—is itself a contribution to the great ideal of national cohesion which we all have at heart. The contribution which All India Radio has made towards this particular purpose is a great one, and I think that it is not merely in times of emergency but at all times that we have to listen to it. If our songs tell us anything, it is this : life is full of conflicts and the songs relate to us the conflict of the human heart with itself. These conflicts are there and whenever these conflicts are there, it is our duty to stand for the right and suppress the wrong. The play goes on, the actors may change. Every period of our life is a period of conflict, and it is our duty, if we are really inheritors of the great traditions of our country, to stand up for the right and defend it against any assaults by the wrong.

An unexpected pleasure has been assigned to me to release the gramophone plate on which Shrimati Subbalakshmi has recorded *Venkateśvara suprabhātaṁ* and Swathi Tirunal's *Bhāvayāmi*. She has just returned from a triumphal tour in the West. Her magnificent voice is one of the richest treasures of our generation, and if that voice is brought into homes and if people are able to listen to it, that is the greatest service one can render. I have, therefore, very great pleasure in releasing the plate.

MUSIC, DANCE AND DRAMA

I SHOULD like to congratulate the winners of Fellowships and Awards on the distinction that they have attained. They are all renowned artists and their achievements are well known to all those familiar with music, dance and drama.

Speech at the annual function of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 16 November, 1963

The invocation said that we should work together, think together. Music, if anything, destroys differences and brings people together, brings them into a single fellowship. That is one of its main functions.

The Maharaja Sahib of Mysore pointed out that the three functions of the Akademi are to preserve art, to popularize it and to see that art serves as a unifying instrument. Art does serve as a unifying instrument. When our representatives went to the Edinburgh Festival, they created such a profound impression that differences of race were all forgotten and people were lost in the appreciation of music.

All great art is the result of very hard work. The individuals who rise to distinction in art must be emotionally alive in every fibre of their being; they should be intellectually perceptive and disciplined in their whole being. Music, dance and drama all require from us *sādhanā,* a kind of discipline through which the whole individual has to pass. Otherwise, we can never rise to eminence in music, dance and drama, or in any sphere. The Sangeet Natak Akademi has kept up interest in this.

The soul of our culture is brought out by music, dance and drama. The Akademi has done a great deal to preserve these traditional media; at the same time it has been encouraging new forms and innovations. It has been stated in the Report regarding one of the actors to whom a prize was awarded today that he has created new *rāgas;* he was not merely repeating the past but he has also composed new verses, new *rāgas,* new themes. That is what we expect. We must be critical as well as creative. These qualities are necessary in every kind of undertaking and I hope that the Sangeet Natak Akademi will continue to do this work, and that those who have won Awards and distinctions today will serve as sources of inspiration to our youngsters.

It is a good thing to see that among the winners there were old and young, sanyasis and Maharajas. You find, therefore, a kind of cross-section of our society represented here. Mama Warerkar represented the old type; the Maharaja of Seraikella represents one of the younger people. We must, therefore, try to see that these arts are kept up and cultivated by everyone. Music is a part of everyone's life. Some great people are able to express themselves in music; others enjoy their music quietly. I congratulate the Akademi on the excellent work it has done.

THE LAMP OF CIVILIZATION

FRIENDS : it is a great pleasure for me to be here and distribute these Awards on behalf of the Government. This occasion, which is of great symbolic value, shows the increased awareness of the State to the obligations which it owes to the teaching community. Those who are in colleges and universities have greater opportunities of coming to public notice. Those who work in primary schools and secondary schools, though the foundations of our education are laid by them, do not have so many opportunities.

The teacher's place in society is of vital importance. Throughout the history of civilization, it is the teachers who were able to transmit the intellectual traditions and the technical skills from one generation to another and to keep the lamp of civilization burning. It is their supreme function. But, unfortunately, in recent times, though we pay lip-service to the importance of the teaching profession, it stops at mere intellectual recognition and does not go beyond that. We in recent times have been attempting to give content to this ideal of the importance of the teachers for any community. If you look at the world, you will see that when great re-ordering of society is brought about, we take hold of the educational machinery. Whether it be in England or America, the Soviet Union or Germany, it is through the teaching profession that we attempt to mould the minds and hearts of the younger people and make them fit citizens for the community which we wish to build.

In our Constitution it is laid down that we have to build a civilized society which is based on the freedom of the human spirit, economic opportunities for all and social justice. These are the primary ideals which we have incorporated in our Constitution. But are we attempting to instil these ideals into the minds of our people ? We are getting mechanized minds with routine reactions to the challenges which are presented to us. It is essential that we should preserve the free spirit of man to which we owe all the great advantages which have accrued to civilization. From the beginning of history down to this day it is the free spirit of man that has revolutionized the social order and brought about great changes in society. We should also preserve the freedom of the human spirit. In that great classic, the *Bhagavadgītā,* the Teacher propounds His views and then says, *yathā icchasi tathā kuru*. . . "Even as you choose, so do you. I do not wish to impose my views on you. I have presented to you what I think is right, and now it is for your conscience, for your judgment, for your mind to decide what is right." From the beginning we have said that there is nothing greater than the freedom of the human spirit, that there is nothing greater than the possession of the human soul.

Speech at the annual distribution of National Awards to Teachers, New Delhi, 22 November, 1963

We should not be lost in worldly affairs but we should preserve our inwardness, our freedom, our subjectivity, our capacity to sit in judgment on things and mould not merely the environment but also our own nature to conform to the ideals that we have set before ourselves. That is what we have set store by, and we should never lose that quality of the free spirit of man. All the great achievements of man in art and architecture, in philosophy and religion, in science and technology, have been due not to the man who has been a slave of his environment but to the one who has been a master of his environment and who has been able, therefore, to recast his environment in the manner that he has chosen. So freedom of the human spirit must be the ideal which every teacher should set before himself.

Another ideal is that we must try to free the human being from the economic servitude to which he is subjected in many cases. Millions of our people are not able to know what the spirit is. How could they know, when they do not have the elementary necessaries of good clothing and shelter ? So we must make our people understand that we want the free spirit of man not merely because *we* want to enjoy *our* freedom but that we want that freedom to be distributed, to be enjoyed by *all*. That enjoyment is not possible unless you free the human being from the economic disabilities from which he suffers. So it is that we should progress in the scientific and technological side. Today, for example, at Calcutta you have the Cosmonauts from the Soviet Union with their daring and the capacity to make sacrifices, with imagination which impelled them to undertake such arduous and perilous tasks. These qualities are there —the imagination and capacity to sacrifice one's life for a great cause. These are found in our young men and women in large numbers, but we must give them the opportunity to display these qualities. We should do our utmost to give scope for the expression of the adventurous qualities which we find in our young men and women. That again is the task of the teacher.

Social justice is another ideal which we have. In this country we have suffered whenever divisions prevailed over unity, whenever dissensions took hold of us, whenever we regarded ourselves as members of this caste or that group, of this community or the other. So long as such distinctions were given priority, and we forgot our obligations to man as man and allowed ourselves to be overcome by such insanities, we suffered. If we want to build up a social structure worthy of our country, of our inheritance, we must remove all the disabilities from which people have been suffering. Oppressed men and women we have in such large numbers. Out of the 85 teachers who received Awards, we have only six women here. It shows that women are still striving to come forward. We must give them all the facilities we possibly can. They are as capable

as men, and, given opportunities, they will do well. We should try to given them all the opportunities which we give to other people.

So social justice, economic progress and freedom of the human spirit—these are the ideals we have incorporated in our Constitution. The teachers may impart to pupils a knowledge of facts. It is also necessary that they should give their pupils a knowledge of values. Facts and values go together. Science may give you a knowledge of facts. Literature, history and philosophy give you an idea of values. As our new Minister for Education—whom we welcome today and who is a man of deep culture and refinement—has already pointed out, we are struggling our utmost to raise the status of the teachers, to provide amenities for their children and adopt schemes of provident fund and gratuity for them. I get letters, heart-rending letters, about the conditions in which some of the teachers live. It is a matter of pain, we must confess, that we have not been able to provide the elementary amenities for our teachers who are really the pivot of our civilization. They are the people who have built it up. I have no doubt that in the years to come these difficulties will be removed and that our teachers will be able to lead lives like engineers, lawyers, doctors or politicians.

I congratulate the recipients of the Awards. I ask them to regard these not on account of their value but as a symbol of the importance that we attach to the teaching profession in the community.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

Mr President, Fellows of the Academy, friends : I have the honour to be called upon to preside over this First Convocation and give away the scrolls.

I see many distinguished men of achievement among the recipients of the Fellowship of this Academy. I hope that they will establish a tradition of leadership in research so far as the medical sciences are concerned.

You call yourself an Academy. This term was first used by Plato in 387 B.C., when he had an academy and had a number of pupils around him among whom was the great Aristotle. So the tradition came down through the Italian Renaissance to our modern academies. This idea need not be regarded as altogether unfamiliar to us. We had our forest hermitages, our *tapovanas,* where distinguished scholars gathered around themselves pupils and imparted not only information but transmitted to them a certain vitality, a certain life to the subject which they taught

Speech at the Convocation of the Indian Academy of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, 8 December, 1963

them. We had great medical savants who also had these *tapovanas,* and, as you know, the famous Jeevaka was invited by the Greeks to visit their country.

Tapas is mental travail. Pāṇini tells us *tapa ālochana,* deep self-reflection; by *ālochana,* or reflecting on the facts of experience and not being satisfied with first appearances, is any kind of progress made. If science does not advance in research, it grows stagnant and dies. It is, therefore, very essential that those who are dealing with the medical sciences should do their utmost to keep the flame burning brighter and yet brighter as the generations pass.

We have in our country a very great tradition of not merely reverence for life but reverence for suffering, reverence which made us take to healing people. The *āyurvedic* science says : *rogaḥ, rogahetuḥ, roganivṛttiḥ ārogyaṁ.* Buddha followed with : *duḥkha, duḥkhahetuḥ, duḥkhanivṛttiḥ nirvāṇaṁ.* This kind of analysis of human suffering has been there. The greatest of our seers were people who tried to help those that needed comfort, who tried to heal sickness, tried to cure the blind, and tried to make the lame walk. That is what great people have said and done in their own lives.

Therefore, this medical profession is a profession of the greatest humanity, of the greatest service. If anyone carries on research here, it will be applied not merely to his own country or to his people but to the whole world. When Madame Curie, a Pole settled down in France, discovered radium, it was not merely for the Poles or for the French, but for the whole world that she discovered it.

We have been doing our utmost since Independence, by increasing facilities for medical education, upgrading several institutions and instituting post-graduate sections in different branches of study. But to real medical revolution which is taking place today all over the world, I do not think that we have contributed in a very significant way.

Your President has observed that if you wish to have research, you require certain conditions. You require men of talent, you require an atmosphere and environment, you require the tools and the equipment. These things are essential. I do not see why, with the increasing facilities which we now have, there should be any lack of these.

Our boys and girls, our men and women, are not inferior in intelligence or innate ability. They are people who can be raised to the level of first-class researchers in medical science, as they have been raised in other sciences in this country. Tools and equipment may be costly and expensive, as the President of the Academy just remarked; but even then we are spending much money on so many things, and I do not see any reason why we should not provide our people with the right equipment and tools. We need also the environment, an atmosphere of research and love for advancing the frontiers of knowledge. This must be instilled

into every young man. There is no use in bulldozing human minds. We must try to give the critical and creative powers with which we are endowed full scope and opportunity for expression. I think that if our teachers have that sense of not merely transmitting knowledge but transmitting love of research, our boys and girls will respond duly.

Even today we hear of many cases of cholera in some parts of our country, a disease which has been wiped out in many advanced countries. It does not depend merely on medical science : it depends on the general raising of the level of our living standards; it depends on the raising of environmental hygiene, sanitation and proper water supply. You find also that heart ailments are on the increase. That again is owing to the lack of some kind of tranquillity in the human being who faces the stress and strain of life. The strain through which we are passing makes us feel worried, and worry is one of the greatest causes of any kind of heart trouble. We find mental illness also on the increase. It is owing to the fact that the human being has reduced himself in many cases to a mere reactor to the changes which take place in his environment. He does not exercise his critical and creative faculties in accepting the challenges and overcoming them. Man should not be reduced to the position of a mere robot; he must not become an automaton. He is not merely a cog in the wheel; he is one who has been responsible for all the achievements which we have made since the beginning of history. It is the free spirit of man that can sit in judgment on the environment, penetrate its secrets, mould the environment to suit his pattern, his own desire. So, the free spirit of man must not be curbed. It is Jung, the great psychiatrist, who said that 60 per cent of the mental cases which came to him were due to lack of faith, lack of purpose in life, to a certain vacuity, emptiness in the human being. The moment you give him faith, you give him a purpose in life, his mental disorder subsides.

It is known that we are born in this world to live for a great cause, to live for some supreme purpose. If we overlook that purpose, if we make ourselves an object in a series of happenings and do not make ourselves a subject of creativity, if we overlook that fundamental fact, then we will make ourselves subject to every kind of disorder.

So the one great thing necessary is to instil into our young men a purpose in life, a sense of dedication, and to make them feel that they are born in this life to do something great. That is what is necessary. The disruption of human relationships, which brings about so many casualties in this world, will all be overcome if man has love. "I never met a man whom I did not like," said one of the great thinkers, "every man whom I met I liked until he disappointed me, until he made me feel that there was something wrong which had to be set right." It is that passion, that passion for human relationships, the enlargement of human relationships, making people believe that we look upon them as

something intelligent, dignified, which requires to be given every kind of attention. That will bring down cases of mental illness, and it will also bring down causes which break up human relationships with so much consequent tragedy.

I hope that this Medical Academy which represents different sciences, which represents men of achievement in their respective spheres, which offers an incentive to men of promise that they, too, can get these distinctions, will be regarded as something to which all our youngsters can aspire. A Fellowship of the Academy must be a matter of honour, not a matter of manoeuvring or intrigue but straightforward work which is acknowledged as first class. That should be the quality we should aim at. You have now 120 Fellows and you will hereafter elect 15, and your maximum number is 300 as your rules stand at present. I hope that you will conform to that and exercise the greatest care in the choice of your Fellows. I may say that there is a sister Academy here, the Sahitya Akademi. It has provision for Fellowships, but in all the ten years that it has been in existence, it has not elected a single Fellow. It shows the high standards which the Sahitya Akademi has imposed upon itself. I am not asking you to keep to that model. You have not done so. You have already some 120 Fellows. But in the choice of your Fellows, be careful, be vigilant, take care of the great reputation which you should enjoy among sister academies in the world. I wish you all well, and I have now great pleasure in distributing the scrolls.

MAITHILISHARAN GUPTA

MAITHILISHARANJI and friends : a good deal has been said about Rashtrapati and Rashtrakavi. Rashtrapati is an elected position. Rashtrakavi is a natural status. He is one of the immortals of Hindi literature : that is why we honour him today.

I had the good fortune of presiding over the Rajya Sabha for a period of ten years when he was a silent but effective member. Someone called him *a ṛṣi*. *Ṛṣis* also take part in the work of the world, *kartavyaṁ loka pālanaṁ*. It is necessary for them to participate in the work of the world and push it along. Our country, like the world, is suffering today from a lack of proper values. There is a degradation of standards; there is a lowering of values. At a time like this we require poets of the calibre of Maithilisharanji to expound to us the great ideals for which our country has stood; and these alone can

Speech at function in honour of the distinguished Hindi poet, organized by Bharati Sangam, New Delhi, 20 March, 1964

help us to survive in these difficult days of doubt, crisis and uncertainty. Whichever way we turn, we find darkness and shadows, but we must proceed on the assumption that behind all these shadows the sun is still shining.

It is the poet's function not merely to state ideas but to communicate feelings, states of mind, moods of thought. These cannot be stated; these cannot even be understood; these can only be suggested to us; these can only be felt by us; these only can transform our beings without even our knowledge. That is what the poet's great function is. He touches our being and makes us different from what we are by the manner in which he communicates his ideas. Our great poets from time immemorial have been the custodians of our great tradition. Every one of them thought that he was not bringing about any innovations; he was trying merely to re-establish continuity with the old. Kālidāsa pays his homage to Valmiki. Tulsidas tells us : *nānā purāṇa nigamāgama saṁmataṁ*. Our poet here takes his stand on the epics of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* the great lessons which have been passed on to us by the poets of great literature. What do they stand for ? For truth, for non-violence, for *samanvaya* or reconciliation.

We have a very early reference as to how different currents of thought, dualism, qualified dualism and non-dualism, are aspects of one and the same truth : I am yours, yourself. Therefore, whether we consider ourselves dualists, non-dualists or qualified non-dualists, we are representing different aspects of one and the same truth. The greatness of a gentleman or a lady, the greatness of any human being does not consist in the accumulation of possessions, not by *vibhavas* which are not *śāśvata* but that quality of the mind.

He bears the name Maithilisharan. Mithila is well known to us by the story of Janaka : *mithilāyām pradīptāyāṁ na me dahyati kiñcana.* When Mithila is burning, nothing of myself is burning; my self is my own; nobody can touch it; nobody can burn it. I am the possessor of my own self : all other things are appurtenances; they come and go. That is the great lesson which our people have announced to us. And today Maithilisharanji is the greatest exponent of that culture in the Hindi world. We wish him many years of life. In retirement we wish him many years of contributions to Hindi literature. We invoke God to bless him for all time to come.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND NEW NATIONS

FRIENDS : it is a real pleasure for me to be here and inaugurate the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Public Schools Conference.

You have listened to the difficulties and criticisms that have been levelled against Indian public schools, and how all those things are being overcome. Here is a Conference which can show twenty-five years of substantial work. There are people who remark that in a country where millions are expected to go to secondary schools, to have twenty-six public schools and fourteen associate public schools is a very small number, and that there is a tendency on the part of those who attend these schools to think that they belong to a higher class; and that a kind of hierarchy is likely to be set up. But I am glad to know that by a system of scholarships you are throwing open your doors to boys of merit and suitability, with the result that you have here not members of any particular class or community based on wealth or birth but on merit and character. That means that you are a replica of general Indian conditions. The better thing is to develop more institutions of this type and not knock down institutions which are already there. That is what you should aim at. It should be the endeavour of our ordinary schools to aim at the standards which public schools aim at.

You were good enough to refer to the contacts which you have established between Indian public schools and the newly emerging nations. Not only are you able to train students of our country but you are able to welcome students from other countries which face similar problems. I hope with you that this kind of understanding between different sets of pupils will lead to comradeship, harmony and fellowship amongst the students.

A public school does not differ from other schools in the subjects taught. Every school is supposed to emphasize physical training, classical training and modern scientific training. Every institution must give physical efficiency to the students, must make them understand moral and scientific methods; it should also tell them what the principles are on which the culture of a great country like ours is based. You call it an Indian Public School : Indian, therefore, should be its character. The subjects taught are more or less the same whether in your school or in other schools, but the spirit you give to the students must be something distinct and it is that spirit which will enable you to call yourselves a good public school.

Today in our country we see on all sides ugly scenes cropping up. Persons who are expected to be responsible, who are in a position of

Speech inaugurating the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Public Schools Conference, New Delhi, 11 April, 1964

leadership, themselves become victims of passion and poison the very atmosphere. It is not mere study that is required, but the assimilation of what you read, the assimilation of the values, which must enter into your very being. It is not salvation by science, classics or by physical development, but salvation by a total change of man. It is that that we should emphasize. A human being, when he comes to a public school, must go out of it as a different type of human being. He must not only know whatever is possible about science, the classics, etc., but these things must make him different, make him see with different eyes and give him a different outlook altogether. The responsibility of students trained in such institutions as this is great. Our ordinary people are unsophisticated; they are open to any kind of training; they will listen to what we say and carry out what we tell them. So what we tell them depends on ourselves. The people who are trained in an institution like this must have a sufficient sense of responsibility. They must feel that our culture, as every great culture does, tries to rescue us from the fragile, the mean, the shoddy, the ugly and the untoward. These are things which we should try to avoid. Why is it that in a country like ours, after so many years of experience, we still have communal incidents which defame and disfigure the reputation of a country? It is no answer to say that the provocation is from there or here. Murder is murder whatever may be the provocation. It is essential, therefore, that whatever may be the troubles that we may face, we must try to stand above all those temptations and set an example that will make the people feel that they are being given the education which makes them loyal to the highest as they see it. It is that kind of loyalty that you require.

Mere knowledge will not do. A great metaphysician said that what a man does with his solitariness confers on him his true greatness. You can learn from books, but what you learn from books does not enter your being, does not become a part of your nature; you are not transformed. For that transformation what is necessary is to sit down for a few minutes, for a few solitary moments, and try to see that the learning which you acquire, the knowledge which you have, is transformed: *tejasvināvadhītamastu,* let what you read become illumined knowledge; let it become something which makes you a quite different being from what you happen to be. For that mere learning will not do, but something more important is essential. A few moments of silence everyday, that is the time when you try to transform what you learn into real wisdom. You make it a part of your very being. It is that which is true education. Education is not merely a capacity to merely echo others' sentiments, or render back words which others give to you, but it is the development of a proper outlook, an outlook of humanity, of humility; your quest must

be for peace, harmony and fellowship. That must be the ideal which should actuate you, and a good public school must enable you to develop these qualities. We must be ashamed of ourselves if we do anything in a moment of passion or excitement of which we are not proud in moments of reflection.

Here, therefore, is a great responsibility for the boys and girls who are educated in such institutions, and it is for them to animate the rest. We live in an age which is confused, agitated, expectant and wants to lead the world into something better. That cannot be done by mere learning, by mere knowledge. What you need is the capacity to turn your knowledge into wisdom, the capacity to practise what you learn in your schools, the capacity to love your neighbour as yourself. That has been the greatest lesson which we have been taught. We practised it in spite of blind alleys and set-backs more or less systematically for over 3,000 to 4,000 years. We have had people here—Jews, Christians, Muslims, the Dravidians, the Aryans, etc.,—all living as members of a common household. We may adopt different names in our approach to God, adopt different forms of prayers; but we all feel that we are members of one divine household and that, therefore, we belong to one whole. That is the lesson which our country has taught us, a lesson which is being taught by other countries, by other great religions also; and it is my hope that these public schools will grow in number, will try to increase their strength and produce men of virtue and ability who will be a model to the other citizens of our country.

THE PURPOSE OF FILMS

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here and see this vast audience. I know that the size of the audience is not due to us, but to the great cinema artistes.

I congratulate the winners of the different awards and hope that the awards will serve as a stimulus to them to do better in the years to come.

Films have a profound effect on the mental climate of our country. There is a great saying by Napoleon : "We cannot govern a country except through the imagination." Scientific skill and intellectual knowledge are things which are to be found all over the world, but the values for which you utilize these things depend on the imagination you have, on the values which you cultivate and the values which are

Speech at the annual distribution of State Awards for Films, New Delhi, 25 April, 1964

transmitted to you through works of art. Every great work of art is an imaginative reconstruction of some scene, some experience. The artistes themselves should have profound emotional experience.

The other day we celebrated Shakespeare's quater-centenary. One hundred and sixteen nations participated in the function at Stratford-on-Avon, as Shakespeare's works are cherished by the people of all nations.

Here also, if we are to understand what the values are for which we live, we must see that our films have a purpose and reflect a national purpose, through imaginative works which create, mould and kindle loyalty to great ideals. At a time like this in our country when on different sides we find so many instances of communal disharmony, national indiscipline, it is essential that those who produce works of art should cherish the ideals of national unity and national discipline. These are the great needs which we have. We may develop scientific skill, have great intellectual penetration and have also some kind of discipline by which we obey the mandates of other people, but we will never succeed in realizing the goal for which these attainments are intended if we do not have certain cultural values which we set above intellectual skill.

Our Minister for Information and Broadcasting said that films are there for the purpose of transmitting the intellectual and cultural traditions of our country. The cultural traditions of our country since the beginning of our history have been for harmony, inter-racial, inter-religious and inter-cultural understanding. Whenever we forgot these ideals, whenever we lapsed into some kind of anarchy with regard to our conduct, our country has suffered. Recently we have had serious disturbances which have disillusioned men's minds. Films have a great part to play in removing this kind of darkness which sometimes overtakes men's minds.

Our Film Industry has won for itself international recognition. It is said to be the second largest film industry in the world, possibly next to that of the United States of America. Millions of people see these films. It is necessary that those who are connected with films should have a purpose in life. Films are not merely for entertainment, or for stimulating our senses. They are there for stirring the very depths of our conscience and making us live not on the surface but from the very depths of our beings. If films produce that effect, they have a great purpose to fulfil, and I hope that all those connected with films—producers, directors and actors—will cherish these ideals and try to raise the mental climate of our country to a higher level. With that hope, I wish to congratulate all those connected with this function.

FRIENDSHIP FOR ALL NATIONS

INDIA AND SPAIN

Mr Ambassador : I am happy to receive you here as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Spain to this country.

You referred to your distinguished predecessor who worked here. He did his work with great distinction and became the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps here. I have no doubt that your term of office will be at least equally successful.

You referred to the economic progress of our two countries. I am sure that a study of developments in our two countries will help us to understand each other better and co-operate with each other in this matter of economic development.

You mentioned our spiritual heritage. Your country is a distinctively Christian country with Muslim imprint on it, and has made a great contribution to cultural development.

You told us about the spiritual outlook which we need most in the present crisis. If we remember the spiritual outlook which both our countries emphasize, we will adopt a more humane attitude even with regard to those with whom we have fundamental differences. The crimes which people commit and the creeds which they follow, these express the strivings, sufferings and sorrowings of human hearts. A great Christian saying is, "He who nurses anger at his brother will one day come to judgment." We should try to avoid this anger.

Mutual distrust is attended with grave risk and mutual trust holds out great promise and, therefore, even though it is somewhat risky, it is our duty to start with trust until it is betrayed. We do hope that in international gatherings your country and mine may co-operate in that particular spirit.

You have conveyed to us the regards and consideration of your President. Kindly convey our best wishes to him for his personal well-being and the progress and prosperity of his people.

You count on our co-operation; you may depend on it. The Government of India and myself will always be at your service in every effort you make to promote the good relations that happily exist between our two countries.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Spain, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 16 May, 1962

INDIA AND SYRIA

Mr Ambassador: I extend to you a very hearty welcome as the first Ambassador of the Syrian Arab Republic to our country and I may assure you of our full co-operation in your attempts to foster friendly relations between our two countries.

You refer to the common historical heritage of our two countries. Syria, with its capital Damascus, has been known in the history of Christianity and Islam. It was on the way to Damascus that St Paul listened to the voice of the Divine, was converted and preached the Christian religion at Damascus itself. I had the honour of visiting your great mosque at Damascus some years ago and was struck by the fidelity to the tenets of Islam which that mosque typified. We in this country also believe in the great cosmic mystery which sustains the universe, the dignity and equality of man. It is the common ideals that bind us together.

You refer to our relations in the Afro-Asian bloc and in the international sphere. You point out that we are interested in the liberation of subject peoples. That is one of our firm policies. We believe that domination by a foreign country breeds hatred for the ruler and humiliation for the people. These are feelings which we abhor. We wish to remove hatred for anybody and humiliation for anybody. That means emancipation of the common people of a country.

You refer to our common policy of non-alignment. We do not wish to associate ourselves with any military bloc. We are working to the best of our capacity for the warding off of wars and making the world peaceful for humanity. In these endeavours you may be sure that whatever you may do will have our utmost support.

I must thank you for your kind words to me personally and I appreciate them very much.

May I request you, Mr Ambassador, to convey to your President our best wishes for his personal well-being and also for the welfare of the people of Syria.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Syria, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 4 June, 1962

INDIA AND AUSTRIA

Mr Ambassador : I extend to you a hearty welcome on behalf of our Government, people and myself on your appointment as the Ambassador of your country to us. You may count on our full co-operation in your attempt to strengthen the friendly ties that exist between our two countries.

You refer to your country as a small one. It may be small in size, but it is in the heart of Europe and is a great centre of European culture. It has produced scholars and scientists, artists and composers of world repute. The world owes a great debt to small countries—Greece, Rome, Palestine. What is huge is not necessarily great; what is small may be vital. Your country is not lacking in vitality.

I had the pleasure of visiting your capital in 1935 and was greatly impressed by many magnificent buildings, especially your Opera House. It was damaged in the Second World War and now you have rebuilt it.

Your country itself passed through serious difficulties, and by your efforts you have remade it, and you are now proud of your new State. Many of our students are trained in your universities. At the end of 1961 we entered into a trade agreement and thus established commercial relations.

We are glad to know that you appreciate our efforts to build up our country. You say very modestly that your offer of assistance will not be unwelcome. I may say that it is quite welcome.

All nations, small or large, have to work for peace if they are to survive, and in the effort to preserve peace and freedom for all nations, we require, more than anything else, those moral and spiritual values of tolerance and understanding, of respect for the individual—ideas which we share in common. We can work together and attain world fellowship on their basis.

We are happy to welcome you here and we wish you to convey to your people our appreciation of the sufferings they passed through and the efforts they are making today to build up a prosperous, democratic State. Our best wishes to your President, your Government and people.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Austria, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 7 June, 1962

INDIA AND MONGOLIA

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you as the Ambassador of Mongolia, a country with which we have had close cultural ties since the advent of Buddhism. Many of your names have a Sanskrit origin. When I visited your country in 1957, you honoured me with the Fellowship of your Academy, and the Buddhist monks admitted me into their community. This shows the very friendly relations between our two countries. A Cultural Agreement was signed between our two countries on 9 May, 1961.

We, no doubt, believe in dignity and strength, but these are to be subordinate to the moral law. In our emblem we have the lions symbolizing strength and the wheel indicating dharma. It is necessary to have these not only in our emblem but also in our life.

You have a vast country with rich resources and a small population. It should be relatively easy for you to develop your country. In that endeavour you have our sympathy. It is my hope that the friendly relations which have prevailed between our two countries will grow stronger and stronger as years roll by, as we co-operate in the international organizations for the ideals of peace and prosperity for all peoples.

I wish you to convey to your President, your Government and people our best wishes for their welfare and prosperity.

INDIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

I am very happy to welcome you as the Ambassador of Czechoslovakia to our country. We have very friendly relations with your country and we shall endeavour to strengthen them. You will get the full co-operation of myself and our Government.

You refer to three fields in which we have been working together—international affairs, trade and cultural relations. We wish to do all in our power to save the world from the scourge of war. You can count on our support in every attempt to foster not merely peaceful co-existence but active co-operation among nations. Our trade relations have been steadily improving and that trend, I have no doubt, will continue. Though a small country of about fourteen millions, you are

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Mongolia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 5 July, 1962

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Czechoslovakia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 14 August, 1962

highly advanced technically and are of much assistance to us. The economic agreement concluded between our two countries provides for the establishment in the period of the Third Five Year Plan of many plants of foundry forge, heavy-machine tools, heavy-power equipment and high-pressure boilers. We appreciate the co-operation of your industrialists.

Our cultural relations are expanding and we have great admiration for your leading thinkers.

The ideals of the Governments of our two countries are best illustrated by the life and work of one of your great thinkers—John Huss. His intellectual integrity and world vision can be of much help to our two countries.

Kindly convey to your President our best wishes for his personal well-being and the prosperity of the people of Czechoslovakia.

INDIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

I WISH to welcome you heartily as the Ambassador of the Philippines to our country. In your efforts to foster friendly relations between our two countries, you may count on our full co-operation and assistance. So many problems which we are tackling are more or less the same and we learn from each other's effort and example.

I had the pleasure of visiting your country when your present President was the Vice-President of your country. I came to know a little of your people. They are very friendly, with great gifts, and we made ourselves quite at home wherever we went. I can testify to that from my own experience.

You stand midway between America and the east, and now you have turned your face eastwards. You are trying to find out all those bonds of geography, history and culture which unite the east with your country. As a further example of your attitude, I recently read a press note that you have entered into an agreement with Malaya and Thailand on the improvement of educational standards and research. That also gives the attitude of mind which you have now developed. You may be sure that we will try to do whatever we can to further our mutual relations.

Kindly convey to your President our best wishes for the success of his policies and for the prosperity of his people.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of the Philippines, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 22 August, 1962

INDIA AND MEXICO

I HAVE great pleasure in extending our hearty welcome to you as the Ambassador of Mexico to our country.

We are greatly looking forward to the visit of your distinguished President to our country next month. We appreciate his good wishes and are grateful for his interest in our progress.

You recall with legitimate pride the great past of your country. You are attempting to adapt your social life to the needs of modern times. We are engaged in a similar task.

You refer to the world situation which, though united by science, is divided by ideologies. In the nuclear context, this division threatens universal destruction. The world should be made a home and not a hiding place for men. This can be achieved only by the carrying out of the principle of unity in diversity, which has been your great ambition.

I thank you for your kind words about me. Our motto is, "Truth alone prevails." This truth is not an esoteric mystery, a mere adventure of mind or an exercise in self-indulgence. It is a guiding principle of life, which will transform the world.

We have common aims and aspirations and we are working together in the international field for the establishment of peace. In this attempt you will have our hearty co-operation.

Kindly convey to your President our best wishes for his personal well-being and the prosperity of his people. Please tell him how eagerly we are looking forward to his visit to our country.

INDIA AND POLAND

I HAVE great pleasure in welcoming you as the Ambassador of Poland to our country. You may rest assured of our full co-operation in your attempt to foster and strengthen relations between our two countries, which happily are of a very friendly character.

You refer to the ever-increasing economic relations between our two countries. The first Trade Agreement between our two countries was signed in November, 1956. This was replaced by a Trade and Payments Agreement signed in 1959. These Agreements not only resulted in the growth of trade between our countries but also provided

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Mexico, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 10 September, 1962

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Poland, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 24 September, 1962

for closer scientific and technical co-operation and the exchange of technical skill between the two countries. These are of mutual advantage and strengthen the ties of friendship also. We appreciate your support to us in our attempts to improve the standard of living of our people.

We are for the abolition of colonialism and the implementation of the policy of peaceful co-existence for the safety of the world. We have been working together in several committees of international organizations, notably in the International Commission for Supervision and Control in South-East Asia where we happen to be the Chairman with Canadian and Polish delegates as members. The Commission deals with the Geneva Agreement concerning Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. In the future world the outstanding problems require to be solved by agreements and not by force of arms.

Kindly convey to your President and Prime Minister, whom we had the pleasure of welcoming here some time ago, our best wishes for their personal well-being as also for the prosperity of their people.

INDO-MEXICAN IDEALS

WE extend a cordial welcome to the President of Mexico, Madame Mateos, Miss Mateos, and the other members of the party. We are happy that the President of Mexico was able to accept our invitation to visit our country.

Though a long distance separates our two countries, our hopes and ideals bring us near each other. We greet Mr Mateos as the head of a liberal democratic, progressive State. Your geographical position as an intermediary between North America and the rest of Latin America and your historic experience in the fusion of different ethnic types with different aptitudes and qualities have enabled you to play a significant role in the contemporary world. When we are facing an uncharted future, we are both for banning nuclear tests at any time and anywhere on ground, above ground or underground. Mexico is working for a more equitable distribution of economic opportunities even as we are attempting to do. These ideals attract us to each other.

I hope that during the short time of your stay in this country you will be able to know something of our people, something of our efforts to raise the living standards and something of the exciting adventure of modernizing our country.

Welcome to President Mateos, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 6 October, 1962

INDIA AND MEXICO : WORKING TOGETHER

Mr President, Madame Mateos, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentleman : May I convey to you, Mr President, and the members of your party a very cordial welcome on behalf of the people and Government of India. We hope you will spend a few days in sightseeing, enjoying your stay and getting to know something of our country.

I am happy to note that today marks the twenty-fifth wedding anniversary of the President. We are very happy that you both are celebrating the silver jubilee of your wedding in New Delhi at Rashtrapati Bhavan. We wish you many happy years of married life and hope that you may spend the golden jubilee of your wedding here again.

I know, Mr President, that you have a very exalted conception of marriage. You were good enough to leave with me yesterday a copy of your Constitution. I turned over its pages, and read in Chapter Four on Mexican citizens, article 34 :

> Men and women of Mexican status have to fulfil the following requirements . . . they must reach the age of 18 if married, 21 if unmarried.

This shows that you believe that marriage makes for maturity of mind, the spirit of accommodation and give and take so essential for the smooth working of democratic institutions.

We both are engaged, our two countries, in the process of national reconstruction. History does not permit us to mould our future as we please. We have to reckon with conditions not chosen by us but which we encounter. They have been transmitted to us from our past. Your great ancestors, the Mayas and the Aztecs, had flourishing civilizations. Then, you had a period of three hundred years when you were ruled by Spain. Now you are trying to integrate the descendants of the Maya, the Aztec and the Spanish settlers into a single and homogeneous Mexican community. We are engaged in a similar task, though on a different scale.

Your Constitution affirms your faith in freedom of speech and press, in adult suffrage subject to the condition I mentioned, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, freedom to criticize the Government as much as you want. These freedoms are embodied in your Constitution.

Freedom of worship is the most important thing of all. During the Spanish rule the clergy were a part of the governmental bureaucracy. The Spanish King was the head of the Mexican Church and your country suffered much from bitterness and bloodshed on account of the

Speech at banquet in honour of President Mateos, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 7 October, 1962

confusion of the functions of the State and the Church. Today your Church and State are separate.

More or less the same idea is embodied in our Constitution also. Economically we are adopting more or less the same policy. We believe in a mixed economy as you do. We call them private and public sectors. We are trying to use them for increasing our agricultural and industrial productivity. You are using science and technology for developing agriculture and industry, and you have succeeded in this task because your industry and agriculture have shown remarkable progress.

Now I come to the international scene where we are working together. We are facing up to history, living in a very crucial and decisive period of human history. We have all the resources, the scientific knowledge, the technical skill and awareness of the needs of the people. Yet we live in a world of fear where more than half the population suffers from hunger, cold, disease and illiteracy. It is possible for us to remove these things from the face of this earth but something stands in the way. We have not had the political wisdom or the ultimate common sense or faith in the moral imperatives, which are essential for us to bring the two things together. We have come to a stage where we have either to abolish war or let it terminate our existence. Negatively, we must remove violence; positively, we must build up a world polity. You have done your best and your country has made great suggestions at the Disarmament Conference that there should be the banning of all nuclear tests, at any rate from 1 January, 1963. On the positive side, you want colonialism to end, racial oppression to be terminated. You want under-developed countries to be aided. If you want to establish a peaceful world, it is necessary that these frustrations and disabilities from which people suffer should be removed. You are working for these ultimate goals.

More than these things, a new world depends on what one might call an international-mindedness. There also I see promising signs in your country. In the premises of your Ministry of Education building you have four statues symbolizing the ancient Maya civilization, a Spanish Catholic saint, Plato, and the Buddha. That shows that we are the inheritors of all the world, of all the spiritual culture which this world is able to give us.

Your political objectives, your economic goals and your international policies are akin to those which we adopt in this country. That is why we are so much attracted to your country and to your leadership in that country, and we are anxious to develop cultural, commercial and economic relations with your country.

We wish you success in all your attempts to raise the living standards of your people and to improve the international climate.

I should not forget my dear friend, Madame Mateos, who is here

and who has been taking a significant part in the social progress of her country. I understand that, like all true women, she loves children. She loves art. She is the President of the National Institute for the Protection of Children and she is providing free breakfasts to thousands of under-nourished, under-privileged children in the schools of Mexico. Her interest in art is well known. She patronizes musical concerts, ballets and art exhibitions.

It is good to have with us Miss Mateos, who has travelled a great deal and takes interest in music, sports and public affairs. She represents the youth of Mexico, the hope of the future Mexico and the world. We wish her a happy and useful future.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : may I ask you to drink to the health of President Mateos, Madame Mateos and Miss Mateos.

INDIA AND RUMANIA : PERSONAL CONTACTS

MR President : I am very happy to have you and the members of your party with us. From your visit to a few centres in India, you have seen the warmth of feeling and goodwill which our people have for you and your country.

We appreciate very much your courageous fight for freedom and the endeavours you are making to raise the social and economic conditions of your people. You have succeeded in that task within a short time.

We appreciate the interest and assistance that you are rendering in the development of our oil industry. Personal contacts help to strengthen friendly relations between peoples. I have no doubt that you, your Prime Minister, your Foreign Minister and the members of your party will find your trip here enjoyable and useful, and I hope that this visit will strengthen our relations.

Speech of welcome to President Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej of Rumania, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 17 October, 1962

INDO-RUMANIAN RELATIONS

Mr President, Mr Prime Minister, Mr Foreign Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : may I express to you all, on behalf of the Government and the people, including myself, a most cordial welcome.

Our countries lie far apart. We speak different languages, follow different customs, adopt different traditions. Yet there are certain common ideals which bind both our countries : the promotion of the well-being of our peoples and the prevention of war. These are two great objectives which we have in common.

You were elected as Leader of your Party in 1945, and you have been guiding the affairs of your country all these years. The ravages of war and the passions roused were quieted; the unity of the people from Moldavia, Transylvania and Muntenia—Christians, Jews and Muslims—has been established, and you tried your best, and succeeded to a large extent, in raising the economic standards of your people. Your agriculture has shown remarkable progress, and your industrial production has been tremendous. More than all, by your educational scheme, you have abolished illiteracy. I was very pleased to know from you that you have a compulsory 8-year period of schooling for all your children and that you even distribute text-books free to them.

These are some of the ideals which we are attempting to pursue, though within the framework of democratic institutions. Our goals are the same, but our methods are different; yet the objectives bind us. All these great ideals, the great hopes that we have, will be blasted by a few unscrupulous men who wish to assert their claims, real or imaginary, by the use of military force. War is the common enemy of all mankind and we should try to work together to see to it that war is abolished in this world.

We agree on certain fundamental principles so far as international affairs are concerned—non-intervention in other people's affairs, territorial integrity, equality, mutual respect, and aid to one another; these fundamental principles bind us both together.

Thus, both in the domestic and the international fields, we work with similar objectives.

We have been able to establish close cultural and commercial relations with you. You were the first people to develop an oil industry in Europe; and we have obtained assistance from you in the building of the Gauhati Refinery. You have been of considerable help elsewhere, too : your technicians are working today in Jwala-mukhi, Trombay, Adampur and Gandhinagar. Our students are being

Speech at banquet held in honour of the President of Rumania, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 17 October, 1962

trained there by you and we have some of your students also. We have had exchanges of cultural delegations—artistes of your country have come to us and our people also have gone to your country. In these different ways we have been able to establish close cultural and trade relations with you.

Under the latest agreement which we have had, we are exporting iron ore to you against the import of petroleum products, drilling equipment and other plants. This close collaboration which we have established between our two countries, I have no doubt, will be further strengthened by your visit, Mr President, and that of the members of your party. You were responsible for establishing the friendly relations between our two countries, and under your guidance and leadership, I have no doubt, these relations will improve further.

May I now ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the health of the President, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of the Rumanian Republic.

PROGRESS: INDIAN AND RUMANIAN

I THANK you, Mr President, for your kind words about our country and the efforts we are making. After all, leadership consists in mobilizing the energies and enthusiasm of the people. The efforts of the Rumanian people, who are tough, earnest, dedicated and tireless, are responsible for the present position of Rumania. We are making great efforts and our people are responding to the call we make.

I just glanced through the books on Rumanian art which you sent me this morning and was greatly impressed by the Rumanian achievements in the fine arts. Music and painting are resources as essential to a civilization which wishes to survive as oil and steel. The world of wealth and power should be integrated with the world of art and beauty. You, Mr President, come from Moldavia, a part of your country the dialect of which is sweet.

We are interested, as you are, in raising the standards of the people. If only we were able to settle down in peace, human beings will have a better and happier life.

Speech at banquet held by the President of Rumania, New Delhi, 19 October, 1962

INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

We are happy to welcome you as the Ambassador of Yugoslavia to our country. Our relations with your country have been most friendly. This friendship has been strengthened considerably by personal contacts between our Prime Minister and your President. Your Ministers and Parliamentary Delegations, your scholars and artistes have visited our country, and our people also have been to your country.

A Chair of Indology has been established in Zagreb University and one of your Professors is to come to our country to teach the Slav languages.

We have a Trade Agreement with your country, and our commercial relations are steadily improving.

In the international field, our ideals are more or less the same. We believe in general and complete disarmament under international control and in peaceful co-operation among the nations of the world. These ideals bind us together and on their basis we can work together here and abroad.

Will you kindly convey to your President our greetings and good wishes for his personal well-being and the welfare of his people? We assure you of our full co-operation in your endeavour to strengthen the friendly relations which happily prevail between our two countries.

INDIA AND CYPRUS

Your Beatitude: I wish to say how very pleased we are that you happen to be with us even though it is only for a very short time.

We have followed with great interest and sympathy your long and bitter struggle for independence and the way in which you have achieved it. We are very glad to welcome you, the first President of the new State of Cyprus, in our country.

People will ask how the two things—Archbishopship and Headship of State—go together. Pursuit of truth means also realization of freedom. The two things cannot be separated from each other.

We are grateful to you for the kind message of sympathy which you sent us in our struggle with China. It is a conflict that is thrust

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Yugoslavia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 22 October, 1962

Speech of welcome to Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 31 October, 1962

on us. Even when we were proposing talks for the allaying of tensions, their armies marched. They wished to decide the issue on the battlefield and not round the table. It has shocked our people. It has shocked the conscience of the world, and we are very pleased to know of your sympathy for us in this great struggle which we are having today. I may tell you that we have been stirred out of our apathy and indolence. We are determined to throw back the invader, get back the lost territory, and it is a pleasure for us to know that we have the sympathy of well-wishers like you.

I extend to you a very hearty welcome to our country.

INDEPENDENT CYPRUS

YOUR Beatitude, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: I should like to express to you and the members of your party a very cordial welcome on behalf of the Government and the people of this country and on my own behalf.

We followed with very great interest and sympathy your struggle for the independence of Cyprus. You, by your wisdom, skill and unwavering faith, transformed a focus of dangerous unrest into a quiet centre of peace. Our congratulations to you on that great achievement.

Your Constitution is replete with checks and balances. You have been elected by the Greek Orthodox Church as the Head of the Church, by the Greek people as the Head of the State, and you happen to be also the national leader of the people of Cyprus. I think your Constitution, under your guidance and leadership, will work smoothly and contribute to the prosperity of all communities among the people of Cyprus. That is our earnest hope and desire.

People wonder how an Archbishop, elected by the members of the Orthodox Church, could also be the Head of the State. Today you paid your homage at the *samādhi* of Mahatma Gandhi. He was essentially a man of religion. He thought all life was of one piece. There was no distinction between the sacred and the secular. He worshipped God as truth, and he realized that the only way to attain truth was through the practice of love. He identified himself with the interests of the people and turned to politics. He turned to politics out of a religious urge. He wanted to establish the freedom of the people of this country. So there is nothing inconsistent between religion and

Speech at banquet held in honour of the President of Cyprus, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 31 October, 1962

politics. Rightly understood, the two things make for one end. The acceptance of truth or the pursuit of truth will express itself in the practice of love and the establishment of brotherhood.

No great achievement is ever possible without toil and sacrifice. We lived in a world of make-believe, of half-truths. We did not heed the warnings that were given to us; but we have been suddenly shaken out of our slumber and we are now awake to the realities of the world. China is a country with which we had the most friendly relations for many centuries. Even in this generation we had the most friendly relations with her, that is, the China of Sun Yat Sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. We were among the very first to recognize the People's Republic of China. We did so on 30 December, 1949. Ever since then we have been persistently agitating for the admission of China to all the international bodies, UN, UNESCO, WHO, FAO, etc. It was only yesterday, in spite of our conflict with China, that we voted for the admission of China to the United Nations Assembly. We did this because we want the United Nations to be a fully representative organization, universal in its range, and we want every country to be included in it, to be exposed to the winds of public opinion, to understand what the currents of the world are. For that purpose we did it. Again in 1954, at the Conference on Indo-China at Geneva, we worked with the Chinese in the most cordial spirit. In 1955, at the Bandung Conference we again worked together in a co-operative way. We wanted to establish some peaceful relationship between the two great countries of Asia—China and India. In 1954, we entered into an agreement whereby we enunciated the famous Five Principles—the principle of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each other; a pact of non-aggression; non-intervention in other people's affairs; mutual respect and benefit, and peaceful co-operation and co-existence. These were Five Principles. All these Five Principles were flagrantly violated by the unilateral action of China; and a nation pledged to the peaceful discussion of all outstanding problems, to the ways of peace, which did its utmost to bring about peace in every part of the world, has been betrayed. There is no doubt, however, that this has spurred our people to a supreme effort to resist the challenge, to recover lost territory and re-establish our freedom and territorial sovereignty even in those regions which have now been lost. We are very pleased that you were good enough to express your great sympathy and support for us in this matter.

So far as political principles are concerned, your upbringing, your ways of thinking, your political faith—all these things are akin to ours. The statements that you made at the recent Belgrade Conference on international affairs are more or less views which we ourselves adopt.

It is our hope that you will continue to lead your great country—

greatness does not depend on mere numbers—to greater prosperity and strength.

May I now, Ladies and Gentlemen, request you to drink to the health of His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus.

INDIA AND NIGERIA

MR High Commissioner: we welcome you most heartily as the first High Commissioner of Nigeria to our country.

You have a great opportunity, being the first High Commissioner of Nigeria, of establishing friendly relations between our two countries. As you yourself pointed out, we passed through similar historical experiences. We are adopting similar methods for solving our problems.

We were greatly touched by the very warm reception which our Prime Minister received when he toured your country.

We have just received a heartening message from your Prime Minister promising support and sympathy for us in our present struggle with China on our borders.

Our people are working in your country as teachers, mechanics and engineers. Some of your people are undergoing training here. These are good signs of the future progress and solidarity of our two countries. I have no doubt that our Government will give you all the assistance you require in establishing friendly relations between our two countries.

May I request you to convey to your Governor-General and to your Prime Minister our best wishes for their personal well-being, for the happiness of your people and for cordial relations between our two countries.

INDIA AND TURKEY

I WISH to welcome you most cordially to our country as the Ambassador of Turkey. You have referred to our long cultural intercourse. In our attempts at planned economic development, we

Address on receiving Letters of Commission of the High Commissioner of Nigeria, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 31 October, 1962

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Turkey, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 6 November, 1962



Speaking at a luncheon for members of the Diplomatic Corps, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 14 May, 1962

Receiving credentials from the Ambassador-designate of Czechoslovakia, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 14 August, 1962





Receiving President Mateos of Mexico, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 6 October, 1962

Receiving President Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej of Rumania, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 17 October, 1962



Receiving credentials from the Ambassador-designate of Yugoslavia, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 22 October, 1962



Receiving Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 31 October, 1962





Receiving Letters of Commission from the High Commissioner-designate of Nigeria, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 31 October, 1962



Receiving credentials from the Ambassador-designate of Turkey, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Dehli, 6 November, 1962

are more or less pursuing the same paths. Our trade is on the increase, and cultural exchanges have been established. I have no doubt that in course of time they will increase in volume.

You refer to our struggle with China, and assure us of your sympathy and support. This is a matter of great satisfaction to us. Even as we were proposing talks for the discussion of our differences, they preferred to have a military decision in the matter. Proud of their military might, they wished to achieve their ends by force. What happened to us today may happen to anyone else tomorrow. The present attitude of China is a threat to world peace. But history is full of illustrations of people who rely on military might and have no moral scruples or respect for decent behaviour coming to a dismal end.

I would like you to convey to your President our best wishes for his personal well-being and the prosperity of his people.

You may rest assured that whatever is possible for us to do, we will do to help to improve the friendly relations between our two countries.

THE BONDS BETWEEN INDIA AND GERMANY

MR President, Madame President : we are very happy to have you and the members of your party with us. We had the honour of receiving your distinguished predecessor, though after his retirement from office. Today we have the honour of receiving the President of the German Federal Republic, an office which you have held with great distinction and dignity for over two years and a half.

Our people have very warm and friendly relations with you and your country. We are indebted to your great orientalists for their discovery of many of the forgotten aspects of our own heritage.

In our work for industrial development, you have rendered us considerable assistance. A large number of our scholars are undergoing training in your universities and institutes of technology.

Most recently, in the trouble which we are having with China, you came out without any reservation, without any qualification, expressing your sympathy and support for our cause. We echo your hope that they may bow to the voice of the world's conscience, retrace their steps and replace the use of force by the rule of law. Anyway, whatever they may do, our choice is made : we shall not surrender or submit to dictation by force.

Speech of welcome to the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 26 November, 1962

We are happy that you will be with us for some days and see what we have done in recent times. I hope you and Madame Luebke will have a very pleasant and interesting time here.

INDIA AND GERMAN THOUGHT

Mr President, Madame Luebke, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : may I extend to you our most hearty welcome. I do so on behalf of the Government and the people of this country and I must say that we are very happy that you were able to accept the invitation which we gave you some time ago. I must say that we are happy that we have with us today Mr Duncan Sandys and Mrs Sandys and Governor Harriman. It is an unexpected pleasure and so we appreciate it all the more.

We have been following with great interest and sympathy the rebirth of liberal, democratic Germany after the Second World War and the wonderful way in which you repaired the damages and devastation caused by war and built up your economic strength. In my three or four visits to your country in the last ten years, I have noticed how steadily you are making progress on every side—economic, scientific, technical and cultural.

Our two countries have had very close and intimate relations for a long time past. For many decades our students used to go to your universities to study Indology and science. I remember that one of our eminent scientists, Mr S. N. Bose, worked with Professor Einstein and was responsible for a formula which is called the Bose-Einstein formula. Today we have 2,200 students in Germany, half of them students in universities, the other half trainees in factories and institutes of technology.

You have given us considerable assistance in the development of our industries. You are visiting Rourkela very soon where a steel factory has been set up with your collaboration. You will soon be in Madras too, where there is an Institute of Technology which represents largely your endeavour. You will be laying the foundation-stone of the administrative wing of that Institute when you visit Madras.

In science and technology you have been eminent. But the enrichment of human life requires other things also, and in those other fields of culture, music, metaphysics, literature—in all these things—you have been renowned. In the world of western music, almost all the great

Speech at banquet in honour of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 26 November, 1962

composers are from your country—Bach, Brahms, Beethoven, Wagner, Handel, Schumann and Schubert. You have been responsible for giving such innocent joy to people in all parts of the world.

In metaphysics, your thinkers have made fundamental contributions, which are memorable. It is their interest in metaphysics that attracted your thinkers to the study of Indian thought. You thought that there was something akin here. Three great thinkers are healing this world—Plato of Greece, Śaṁkara of India and Kant of Germany. This was Deussen's estimate. We always differ in our impressions about who the great thinkers are, but that is what Deussen said. On the last occasion he was in this country, in 1911, when about to leave Bombay harbour, he looked at the audience and said, "You Indians have a great heritage. Cling to it." That is what he told them. You know how Max Müller was the first to edit the Ṛg Veda, and in his *Autobiography* he said, "If there are Christian Platonists, there are also Christian Vedantists. I claim to be one." Goethe was the man who propounded the idea of perpetual peace, the man who conceived the idea of world literature. That is why he took a great deal of interest in the German translation of *'sākuntalā* and he wrote those famous lines, "If you want a single name which embraces both earth and heaven, blossoms of spring and fruits of autumn, the vicissitudes of life, innocence of joy and the sadness due to neglect and forgetfulness, I mention the name of *Śākuntalā*. The sadness of *Śākuntalā*—it is only sadness, it is not tragedy. It ended in the great recognition by her husband and the birth of a great son Bharat, who is the nourisher and sustainer of the world.

It is some such phase of sadness through which we are passing today. It is sadness and sorrow but it is not tragedy. It is something which nourishes and energizes and comforts us, chastens us and makes us better. When we undergo this discipline of sorrow and suffering, pangs of pains so to say, I have no doubt that we will come out of it much better men.

We won independence in a very peaceful way, with the result that the British are our good friends today. After achieving independence, we tried to battle with the problems of hunger, disease and poverty and the frustration of millions, and it has been our endeavour to develop a modern, civilized, democratic State.

As we were attempting to do this thing, a blow came to us : a country which we had befriended and trusted for nearly twelve years, with which we had co-operated in the most friendly way, betrayed our trust and confidence and used force to change its frontiers to its own advantage. That is what it attempted to do. We shall not allow this to happen again. We wish to demonstrate to the world that aggression does not pay. The course ahead of us may be full of

hazards, it may cost us a lot in suffering and sacrifice, but, however high the price may be, we are prepared to pay it.

Mr President, I want to say this : that it has all resulted in two great advantages. Our nation found itself reborn. The petty differences which we had, the linguistic, religious, provincial, regional ones, all these differences have been subordinated to this one supreme loyalty of preserving the freedom and the territorial integrity of our country.

There were impulses binding this nation together. These were sometimes obscured. But today they have come out to be creatively alive. They are now in our conscious memory. They are not lost in the obscurity of our unconscious life. We are aware of them, every one of us, wherever he may be, to whatever caste, community, religion or political persuasion he may belong. He feels today that it is not his personal comfort, personal well-being but the integrity of the nation and fidelity to the ideals for which this nation has stood that are the things which bind us together. This rebirth of the nation had to come from the shock-therapy which China has administered to us. That has made us alive to our fundamental oneness, to our fundamental unity, to our loyalty to this great land, not because it is a piece of geography, not because it is simply a historical tradition but because it has stood for centuries for certain great ideals which make for the welding of nations and the solidarity of mankind. This rebirth of our nation is something which we owe to this attack by the Chinese.

Next I want to refer to the way in which the world has responded to our call. Every race, every nation, aligned or non-aligned, in Africa, Asia, Europe or America—it does not matter where it is—has felt attracted to this thing. It has felt : here is a commitment to right and opposition to wrong, a fundamental human quality which supersedes political differences which are merely a passing phase, and which brings the whole of humanity together in allegiance to the supreme value of life that righteousness exalteth a nation. It is this principle which has made the world come to our succour.

We stand today poised, so to say, between untold creative possibilities on one side and self-annihilation on the other. If we are still living in such juxtaposition, it is owing to the balance of terror and not to the tranquillity of a true moral order. What is essential is that this precarious peace based on fear of one another must be transformed into a peace where we are united by certain common ideals and common purposes. For that we require the assertion of the fundamental human qualities which cannot be superseded by the passing insanities of modern times. It is that quality that has come out today when India has become a victim of unprovoked aggression. It had led to the rebirth of India and has also been a prelude to a world community based not on political arrangements, economic alliance, but on

allegiance to certain common principles and ideals which mankind holds dear.

Your country and mine, Mr President, are bound together by democratic principles today. We believe in individual freedom, in human dignity, in social justice, in the welfare of all the peoples of the world. We want to see the whole world flourish and prosper. We do not want anyone to suffer, and if anyone suffers, our heart goes out to him. So it is a community of ideals that binds us together. I have no doubt that the way in which you have responded to our present need—I am told just now that in the Consortium your aid is the second largest, next to that of the USA. You have given us 10,000 sets of warm clothing for our jawans at the Front—this is an expression of the fundamental human quality of sympathy and compassion for suffering people. We are grateful to you for what you have done.

Our relationship has not been merely political or economic. It has been cultural and spiritual, and it is on those bonds that we wish to build up a new community in this world.

I wish to tell you how very grateful we are to you, how very happy we are that you are with us, and how certain we feel that your visit will strengthen the bonds of friendship between our two countries.

Ladies and Gentlemen : may I ask you to drink to the health of President Luebke and Madame Luebke.

INDIA AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

I AM grateful to you, Mr President, for your kind words. We all hope that you found your stay here useful and pleasant and that the few days you will spend in this country will be pleasant for you and the members of your party. I assure you that in these three days you, Madame Luebke and the other members of your party have endeared yourselves to the people of this country.

You have expressed your sympathy for us in our present troubles, and that sympathy has been translated into material assistance. Your gracious wife visited our Red Cross Society and presented a Mercedes-Benz light ambulance, a large quantity of blood plasma, forty light stretchers for use in hilly areas and blood transfusion sets. It is very kind of her to have done this. Our horizons have never been bounded by Asia alone. We have always been admirers of the Germany of Kant and Goethe, Beethoven and von Kleist, Heuss and Luebke. It is that true Germany which is our friend today.

Speech at banquet held by the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi, 28 November, 1962

INDIA AND ARGENTINA

I HEARTILY welcome you to our country as the Ambassador of the Republic of Argentina. Kindly convey to your President our best wishes for his personal well-being and the prosperity of the people of Argentina. We are proud to know that when you presided over the Buenos Aires City Council, a street in that city was named after the Republic of India. It is an honour to us which we appreciate. You are right in saying that distances and frontiers do not separate peoples; they come together to stimulate one another and to energize one another. There should be no barriers between nations but only bridges of understanding and love. You may rest assured that we believe fervently in the principles which you have just mentioned : that aggression should be condemned and problems settled in a peaceful way. We are thankful to you for your support of our cause in the present context of our country. You may be sure that we will do everything in our power to help you to strengthen the bonds of understanding and friendship which happily prevail between our two countries.

INDIA AND GREECE

I WISH to welcome you most heartily to our country as the Ambassador of the State of Greece. Please convey to His Majesty the King our best wishes for his well-being and for the prosperity of his people.

You refer to India and Greece as ancient centres of civilization running parallel to each other in their development. You find analogies : the Delphi temple says, "Know thyself," as the Upaniṣads say *ātmānaṁ viddhi;* the Olympic gods and the Vedic Gods; Plato and the Upaniṣads. Mr Westcott has said somewhere that these are the two countries which have contributed most to civilization; but we have to see what we are contributing today.

Thank you very much for your assurances of support to us in our present struggle with China. We heard about it and we appreciate your sympathy very much.

Your good wishes for our economic progress and development are an assurance of your interest in our well-being. You may rest assured,

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Argentina, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 29 December, 1962

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Greece, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 31 December, 1962

Mr Ambassador, that we will do everything in our power to promote cultural and economic relations between our two countries.

INDIA AND NEPAL

I WOULD like to welcome you heartily to our country as the Ambassador of a close and good neighbour, Nepal. May I request you to kindly convey to His Majesty the King our greetings and good wishes for his personal well-being and for the prosperity of the people of Nepal.

You rightly emphasize the several bonds that bind us together, in culture, in socio-economic affairs, in religion and other things. All these are enduring ties which will make us grow stronger in friendship.

We are deeply interested in the national reconstruction which you have undertaken. We would like to do everything in our power to assist you in the matter.

You may be sure that in your work in improving the relations between our two countries which are already good, you will have every co-operation from us.

I wish to welcome you once again most heartily.

INDIA AND BOLIVIA

MR Ambassador : I am glad to welcome you as the first Ambassador of Bolivia to our country. It is an honour you have done us by establishing an Embassy here.

I recall my visit to La Paz, the capital of your State, which is said to be at the highest elevation. We watched with pleasure the way in which you have redeemed yourself from feudal oppression and have nationalized your mining industry and established parliamentary democracy based on adult suffrage. We have been watching your progress with great interest.

You refer to our co-operation in the international field. We appreciate the sympathy and support which you have expressed for our country in our present conflict with China. We are grateful to you for it.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Nepal, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 1 January, 1963

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Bolivia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 24 January, 1963

May I request you to kindly convey to your President our best wishes for his personal well-being and the prosperity of his people.

INDIA AND CAMBODIA

YOUR Royal Highness, Madame Sihanouk, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : I should like to convey to you our most cordial welcome on behalf of our Government and people and of myself, and I hope you and the members of your party will find your stay here both interesting and pleasant.

Your Royal Highness : we have watched your somewhat unusual and striking career with great interest. You were installed as the King of Cambodia in 1941 when you were just 18 years of age. You then led the movement for freeing Cambodia from alien rule and found that your duties as King would interfere with your work for your people; so you abdicated in favour of your father in 1955. Since then you have been working for the development of your country and your people. You have introduced many administrative reforms, many economic measures, many schemes of educational expansion. You have identified yourself with the interests of your people. You are now the elected Head of your State, the undisputed leader of your country enjoying the confidence and affection of your people.

When I thought about the educational problems you were discussing with me, I was greatly impressed by the language problem which you have solved in your country. In the primary stages, they learn Khmer and French; in the secondary stages, they learn Khmer, French and English; in the university stage, they learn French, English and Russian. It shows the modern outlook which you have developed in your country.

Your position, occupying as your country does a place between countries which are aligned this way or that way, has been somewhat a delicate one. With great acumen and courage, you have pursued a policy of non-alignment and helped your neighbouring countries to the extent to which you can. You took a leading part in the Geneva Conference on Laos and you helped the attainment of the neutrality of Laos. Though you are in fact a neutral, there has not been any *de jure* recognition of it, but that does not matter.

I find again that your country has so many attractions about it. Visitors from all parts of the world come there to see those magnificent

Speech at dinner given by the President in honour of H. R. H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, 25 January, 1963

masterpieces of architecture in Angkor Vat, etc. Descendants of the people who built those great monuments have, no doubt, great artistic talents and abilities; and you yourself, Your Royal Highness, take a great deal of interest in music, in song, in drama. You have written poetry, light music and compositions like that, and you have enabled your people to have a taste in the traditional arts and crafts of your country. You have tried to give them a lead. You have led labour teams, you have worked in the rural areas, you yourself have undertaken manual work to set an example to your people that unless they help themselves, there is no chance of their developing their country. That great example you have set to your people.

The Flag which you have is always a reminder that as he is, man is incomplete. The three *Gopuras,* three temple spires, indicate that we are here to dream, to aspire and to complete ourselves. What we have is something which cannot satisfy us. History is full of ups and downs, of periods of war and peace, of tremendous threats and great hopes. We know our teachers have taught us that the more we have weapons of violence, the more the misery to mankind. In spite of the exalted teachings which they gave, we still go on developing new and complicated weapons.

This civilization has a precarious character. It has virtues which have helped us to build up civilization; it has vices which have reduced civilization to nothingness. The virtues and vices spring from the heart of man. Unless we are able to integrate our own nature, unless we are able to feel dissatisfied with things as they happen to be, there is not much chance of our moving forward.

But the spirit of man is there. It is bound to prevail and this particular Flag of yours with its three *Gopuras* is an indication to us all not to be content with what we are, but to keep moving forward until we reach the goal. You have, therefore, done a great piece of work for your country, and I have no doubt that with your wide travels, with so much experience which you have gained from meeting other people, you are bound to be of great assistance to your country. When I was there some years ago, I found Her Royal Highness giving a performance, a ballet, in which she took the role of Sita in your Royal Ballet, in your theatre with your father and mother, and I saw it and enjoyed it. Your people are a people who have capacity for enjoyment, who have a sense of art and who have a sense of deep dissatisfaction with things as they are and aspire for nobler things. So long as that aspiration is there, there is hope for all of us.

It is my great pleasure to ask you to drink to Your Royal Highness's health, to the health of Madame Sihanouk, to the members of your party, and I express the hope that you will have a good time in our country.

INDO-GREEK BONDS

YOUR Majesties, Your Royal Highness : we are happy that you were able to accept our invitation and spend a few days in our country.

You are the latest in a long line of visitors from Greece from the very early times—Alexander, Megasthenes, Menander, Heliodorus and others were here. I say the latest because we expect the series to be continued hereafter, too.

You have made for yourselves an important position in the life of Greece. By your fortitude, your concern for the Greeks and the interest you take in their welfare by building churches, having Teachers' Homes and Workers' Homes, you have developed monarchy in a democratic way, and have given to it very healthy democratic traditions. We are proud to see you here.

We heard with great pleasure your Government's sympathy for us in our present conflict and support for our cause. We are thankful to you for that.

We hope that the few days that you spend here will be both interesting and enjoyable.

We extend to you a very hearty welcome.

INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

I AM glad to welcome you as the High Commissioner of Australia. Our relations have been quite friendly on account of the identity of ideals we pursue : a federal Constitution, parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, freedom of the press and eagerness to settle international disputes by peaceful methods. We are not only working together in the Commonwealth but are also participating in the Colombo Plan to mutual advantage.

In our recent trouble with China, you have expressed your full sympathy with our cause and reinforced it by material military assistance to the extent of nearly £ (Australian) 20,00,000.

We note with satisfaction that some of our students are being trained in Australia, and I have no doubt that the close relations between our two countries will get strengthened in matters of culture and commerce during your term of office. I wish you well.

Welcome to the King and Queen of Greece, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 2 February, 1963

Address on receiving Letters of Commission of the High Commissioner of Australia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 16 March, 1963

INDIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Mr High Commissioner : we welcome you most heartily as the High Commissioner of New Zealand to our country. We have had very close and friendly relations between our two countries. We appreciate a great deal the assistance which you gave us in building the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. You refer to our jawans in the last World War. They have always covered themselves with glory wherever they have gone. I have no doubt that they will be able to do so with their traditional valour and courage when crises arise.

We both have parliamentary democracy. Democracy is an attitude of mind and ethical temper. It requires considerable self-restraint to practise it successfully. In the international world, democracy means liberation of subject nations from alien domination and freedom to develop according to their own genius.

WELCOME TO THE KING OF LAOS

Your Majesty, Your Excellencies : we are delighted to have you and the members of your party with us, even though only for a few days. I hope that even in these few days, you will learn something, feel something, of the esteem and affection in which Your Majesty and the people of Laos are held by us.

We are happy that after a valiant and heroic struggle for independence, you have now achieved your independence. We are glad that we had a little to do with your country both as Member and as Chairman of the Commission of Supervision and Control and as a signatory to the Geneva Agreement in 1954. I have no doubt that your people will pull together, work together and make of Laos a prosperous and progressive State. You carry our very best wishes for the achievement of the goal.

I hope Your Majesty will find your stay here interesting and useful.

Address on receiving Letters of Commission of the High Commissioner of New Zealand, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 18 March, 1963

Welcome to the King of Laos, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 27 March, 1963

INDIA AND LAOS: COMMON PURPOSES

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: it is a very great pleasure for us to have you along with the members of your party with us. I wish to convey a most cordial welcome from the people of India, the Government and myself to you and the members of your party.

We ourselves suffered long under subjection and we attained our independence fifteen years ago. Even before that we had been friendly to all liberation movements, to all peoples struggling to free themselves from alien rule. We were very anxious, therefore, that you should achieve your independence as soon as possible. We took some part in the matter as the Chairman of the Commission of Supervision and Control of the States of Indo-China, and we were signatories to the Geneva Agreement. We are, therefore, happy that you are now a free country.

Political freedom gives you the opportunity to develop according to your own genius. Secondly, the Geneva Agreement assures you of non-interference from other States. It also assures you that you are not involving yourself in any military alliances. Non-involvement in military blocs is a thing to which we have paid the greatest attention in this country. When once we have political freedom and are assured of non-interference by others and also have pledged ourselves not to get ourselves entangled in military alliances, our next task is to build up a social economy worthy of the modern age. We cannot turn back the pages of history. Social justice and equality are the demands of the modern age. When we have these two principles, we should all work, wherever we may be, for the ends of social justice and equality. Political freedom, non-involvement in military alliances and social progress, I hope, will distinguish your development.

It is not the first time that several great powers guaranteed the neutrality and the territorial integrity of a State. In 1955, Austria was given independence and the four great powers, Britain, France, USA and USSR, guaranteed the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Austria, and Austria pledged herself that she would not take part in military alliances and that she would be absolutely neutral.

As for Laos, these four powers, along with others in South-East Asia, China, India, Burma, Cambodia, Thailand, Vietminh, Vietnam, Canada and Poland, all signed the agreement guaranteeing your independence and assuring you that they would not interfere in your affairs. For its part, the Kingdom of Laos has pledged itself not to allow

Speech at banquet in honour of the King of Laos, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 27 March, 1963

military bases to be built in its territory, not to get aligned with this or that military bloc.

These two instances are a foretaste of the emerging world order. In the long pursuit of human history, this particular generation will go down as the generation when global communications and network of relationships were being established and spatial distances were becoming diminished more and more. When this thing is happening, we require some fundamental insight to guide us, a new kind of world citizen will have to emerge; and the great culture, the great religion you profess, is a guarantee, if we adopt it seriously, that such a kind of global citizen will arise.

Nirvāṇam paramam sukhaṁ. Emancipation from pride, from prejudice, from provincialism and from greed for other people's territory are the things which constitute an enfranchised human being, an emancipated human being. *Nirvāṇa* means extinction of all these petty impulses which we have. Buddhism is something which we adore in this country too, and, therefore, it binds us together.

Many things in your country remind us of our own things. Your script is more or less the Pali script. Your minister is a *mantrī.* Sunday is *bhānu vārā.* You find so many things binding us together. All that we are anxious about is that you should develop a Laotian personality, that your people should sink their differences, work together with a common will and common purpose, and delight not only your own people but all of us who are friendly to the Laotian people.

I have no doubt your visit will bring our two nations together and that a period of fruitful association will commence from this visit.

May I request you to raise your glasses to the health of His Majesty the King of Laos.

INDIA AND JORDAN

I WELCOME you very heartily to our country as the Ambassador of Jordan.

I thank you for the very kind words you have said about what we did in the past and hope to do in the future. You referred also to the recent Chinese threat and your sympathy with us. We are grateful to you for your expression of sympathy and support.

We appreciate your faith in democracy and economic development and abiding peace, ideals which we share with you. We know that

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Jordan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 1 May, 1963

you are passing through difficult times but I have no doubt conditions of stability will soon be reached.

You may rest assured that we will do everything in our power to help you in the process of strengthening the relations between our two countries.

INDIA AND IRAN

I WELCOME you very heartily to our country as the Ambassador of our friendly neighbour, Iran.

We recall with great satisfaction the visit of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran to our country in 1956 and you are right in saying that I am looking forward with great eagerness to my visit to your country.

You refer to the age-old ties binding our two countries. It is true that from the period of the *Ṛg Veda* and *Zend-Avesta* down to recent times when many Indian scholars have contributed to Persian literature, our relations have been close and intimate. Much more than these cultural relations are the tasks which we are attempting to achieve in our respective countries—planned development, a progressive economy and a social structure where the interests of the rulers and the ruled happen to coincide.

You may be sure that in your tasks of achieving peace and tolerance and working for friendliness between our two countries, you will have our full co-operation.

May I request you to convey to His Imperial Majesty our best wishes for his welfare and the welfare of his family and for the well-being of the people of Iran.

INDIA AND PERU

I SHOULD like to welcome you most heartily to our country as the first Minister of the Government of Peru to our country. I have no doubt that this is only a first step and that it will improve our cultural and commercial relations.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Iran, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 2 May, 1963

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 6 May, 1963

I am glad you refer to the ancient heritage of this country and to your ancient history. Against that historic past, we are trying to build up a modern progressive society. The same problems face both of us and we can learn from each other.

You refer to our work for peace. Peace is possible only through international understanding, through mutual goodwill, through a spirit of tolerance, and I have no doubt that we will work together in all the international organizations for the achievement of these ends.

You may depend on us that we will do everything in our power to help you in your attempt to develop friendly relations between our two countries.

May I request you to convey to your President and Members of your Government our best wishes for their future well-being and the prosperity of the people of Peru.

THE INDO-AFGHAN SOCIETY

FRIENDS : I am very thankful to you for the kind words you have expressed about me and my country. You referred to the age-old relations between our two countries, which makes your task of promoting friendship between India and Afghanistan easier. Afghanistan had for its original name, Ariana, as your Airways call it. Then you had Islam. All this emphasized the need for friendship and brotherhood among peoples. It makes out that we are born to love and help one another, and not to hate or destroy one another. That is the fundamental principle on which we proceed. We are all the children of God; so we have a claim to help one another as belonging to one great family. And it is my hope and desire that the relations which are so cordial and happy between our two countries—there is not one problem which is dividing us or giving us concern—will continue to be in the same state and will grow as the years pass and make us faster friends.

Speech at the Indo-Afghan Society, Kabul, 13 May, 1963

INDO-AFGHAN FRIENDSHIP

THANK you for asking us to come to this reception and for the expression of the generous words which you have just said. We spent about four days in Kabul and we came here, and we are greatly impressed by the development that is taking place in this city of Kandahar. The airport where we arrived and the canning factory which we saw and the boys and girls lining the streets—these things made us believe that Kandahar and Afghanistan are both making rapid progress. Now a thing that occurred to me today was that at the time when transport and communications were difficult Afghanistan had been the meeting-place of so many different cultures—the Brahmanical, the Buddhistic, the Greek, the Islamic cultures met here. Here when I went round the city, I found people of European origin or nationality, Indians and others, working together with the one object of helping the Afghan people to raise their living standards.

Love your neighbour, is the motto. And the question is asked : who is your neighbour ? Whoever is in difficulty, is in need, is your neighbour. Today, the advanced nations of the world have a special responsibility towards helping the nations which are not so advanced. It is an obligation which we are fulfilling to the best of our ability, and our relations, as you said, have been centuries old. And hereafter when we are facing similar problems and are attempting to raise the standards of our people and make ourselves a little more progressive than what we happen to be, we can work together. I, therefore, raise my glass to Indo-Afghan friendship.

INDO-IRANIAN BONDS—OLD AND NEW

YOUR Imperial Majesty, Mr Mayor and friends : I am delighted to be here today, on the invitation of Your Majesty, to see this land of legendary enchantment with my own eyes.

You have referred to the age-old connections between India and Iran. The connections are not merely ancient, they are also modern. If you look into our art, architecture, music, painting and calligraphy, you will see the profound influence that Iran has exercised on us. We have an Indo-Iranian language, Urdu, which is spoken in many parts of our country. And we have many universities where Persian is taught as a classical language.

Speech at banquet held by the Governor of Kandahar, 15 May, 1963

Reply to the Welcome Address by the Mayor of Tehran, 16 May, 1963

I have no doubt that measures which Your Imperial Majesty is now adopting for improving the living standards of your people and bringing up this country to the standards of a modern, civilized State, will meet with great success.

I am happy to be here and to receive the key of the city of Tehran.

THE IDEALS OF IRAN

YOUR Imperial Majesties, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am most grateful to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran for the kind invitation he extended to us to visit his country. Members of my party and myself have been greatly moved by the very affectionate welcome which we received this noon when we arrived. We have come here to see some of the ancient monuments as well as some of the modern achievements of Iran.

Your Imperial Majesty just referred, with legitimate pride, to the fact that the Buddha and Cyrus were produced in the same age. These great people do not belong to their own countries only; they belong to the whole world. Cyrus found the world young and moulded it according to his own pattern. His achievements in communications, in administration and organization have afforded lessons for the later empire-builders. More important than these are the basic policies which he adopted towards the peoples over whom he exercised sway. Herodotus tells us that Cyrus rescued Crœsus from the funeral pyre at Sardis and made him one of his most honoured counsellors.

His policy towards the beliefs of the peoples whom he conquered was one of great generosity. The Old Testament book, *Ezra,* tells us how Cyrus built the temple at Jerusalem and reconciled the Jews to his own views. He maintained the shrines of other people and made generous gifts to them. This attitude of respect for other faiths was one of Cyrus's basic policies. Your Imperial Majesty is still preserving the tradition, as is evident from the fact that you sent me the *Id* greetings recently. We in our country adopt the same kind of attitude; we do not hold in scorn what other people hold sacred. We have Hindus and Muslims, Buddhists and Christians, Sikhs and Parsees. They are all honoured, treated with equal respect and dignity, and are given the freedom to profess their beliefs and practise their own rites. Spiritual courtesy must be regarded as the essential mark of a

Speech at banquet held by H.I.M. the Shahanshah of Iran, Tehran, 16 May, 1963

civilized human being. Almost all modern States today are adopting this great principle.

Your Imperial Majesty : you have referred to the intimate relations between our two countries. The *Ṛg Veda* and the *Zend-Avesta* have a family resemblance. You pointed out how Hafiz said that the parrots of India had a liking for the candy of Iran. I may quote another of Hafiz's sayings : talking about himself he said that the black-eyed beauties of Kashmir and the beauties of Samarkand sang and danced to the strains of Hafiz Shirazi's words. We have had Persian taught as a classical language in many of our universities. It is a matter of gratification that many of your classics have been published for the first time in India and that Persian newspapers were also published for the first time there. I have no doubt that we will continue to show the same interest in Persian as we have done hitherto.

Zarathustra tells us that we should act clean, speak clean, think clean. This is a heavy responsibility which at least the leaders should exercise. A careless utterance, a casual aside, may confuse the people and cost them very dear. What a leader thinks today, other people think tomorrow. It is that kind of attitude that we should realize when we exercise leadership.

Both our countries, as you mentioned just now, are facing the task of building up a welfare state. We are trying to fight disease, ignorance, poverty, malnutrition, etc. In doing so we are trying to apply modern methods of science and technology and trying to raise the living standards of our people. Some of the attempts which Your Imperial Majesty has recently made—of agrarian reforms, of the enfranchisement of women, of enabling workers to participate in the industrial enterprises—are in the direction of democracy.

Slowness of evolution is generally the cause of revolutions. If we wish to avoid violent upheavals, we should speed up the way in which we attempt to raise the living standards of the common man. The interest of the rulers and the ruled should coincide; that is the first principle of any kind of stable government.

Your Imperial Majesty referred to the need for having peace in the world if our attempts are not to be dashed to pieces. All the things that we are doing today will come to nothing if there is a nuclear war. It should be our endeavour to prevent nuclear wars and bring about disarmament and world peace.

Centuries ago, Cicero said that there could not be one law for Athens and another for Rome; that there could not be one law today and another law later. We may not have a federal government soon; a world authority may be a distant scene; all the same, we should have sufficient respect for law and a sense of justice. These should become ordinary features, features which are accepted by people all over the

world. This should be the first step on which we can build up a world authority, or achieve world peace.

I hope that our representatives in the United Nations and such other organizations will work together, reflecting the spiritual solidarity which we have had for centuries past; if they are able to do so, we shall have made some little contribution to the establishment of peace in this world. I have great pleasure in proposing the toast to His Imperial Majesty, Her Imperial Majesty, the Members of the Royal Family, and we toast them all and the prosperity of the people of Iran.

CULTURAL LINKS

I AM happy to be here and see the pupils and the teachers of this Indian School. I am happy also to know that you are trying to retain your affiliations with Panjab University as also with the Delhi Board of Secondary Education. You are living in a country which has had so much in common with ourselves not merely in the past historical eras but in the present time also, and I have no doubt your fathers and others, who are working here, are putting in their utmost for the service of the community among which they are working. That should be our ideal. And so far as these young children are concerned, this is the age when they have to put forth their utmost effort in educating themselves.

If you care for comfort, you cannot be truly educated. If you wish to be truly educated, you must subordinate your comfort to that. That should be the aim that you should set before yourselves. In any me to inaugurate your library which I do with pleasure, and hand institution, the library forms an important part, and you have asked over to you a thousand books from the Government of India, which will adorn your library. I wish this institution all success.

Speech at Indian School, Tehran, 17 May, 1963

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY IN IRAN

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here today to meet you all and learn something of the good work which you have been doing, not only for our country but for the country in which you are earning your livelihood. That is a sure sign of the very friendly relations between our two countries.

You referred to the establishment of a *gurudwara* here and to the teachings of Guru Nānak. If he taught us anything, it was the repudiation of caste and inequalities and the assertion of human equality and respect for all the faiths. It is one of his followers that gave us the language which Gandhiji adopted : *mandir masjid tere dhām, īśvara allāh tere nām.* In other words, there is one God in all the religions and no religion has a monopoly of God. If we realize that, we will respect the followers of all religions, and that is one of the essential teachings of Guru Nānak. It has come to us from very early days. It is something which we have to recognize even today.

You referred to the progress which we have made. I should like to say that while we have made some progress there is yet a good deal to be done in our country. We must not enter into a mood of complacency, or think that we are doing wonderfully well. We are doing our utmost, but taking the size and population of our country and the basic requirements of our people, what we have done is just a drop in the ocean. Little done, the vast undone—that should be the idea which we should always have.

You referred to the Chinese aggression. We have had our periods of gloom and glory, of strength and weakness, of victory and defeat. We have passed through all these stages in our long history; and because we have had certain fundamental principles to guide us, we were able to recover from any kind of set-back, and re-establish ourselves in a position of some importance. Life with humiliation is not worth living, and we are, therefore, doing our utmost in this period of a temporary set-back which we have had, to rebuild our forces, recover our strength and reassert our dignity. That is what we are attempting to do, and I am happy to know that we have in that effort the sympathies of Indians who are living in Iran. It is a pleasure for me to know that our friend here, who is the President of your Indian community, has been here for nearly 48 years. The Sikhs have always been enterprising and hard-working; and they go out and bring, as far as possible, I hope, good name to our country. After all it is not merely honour and things like that, it is not merely the money you make but the behaviour that you manifest here which

Speech at the reception accorded by the Indian community in Tehran, 17 May, 1963

matters; it is by that that you are tested. I have no doubt that you are aware of the great responsibilities you have when you are working in a country which is not your own. It is my earnest desire that you should set a great example to all people of good conduct, and have a happy relationship, and friendship with all the people among whom your lot is cast.

I am proud to receive this purse which Shrimati Baig just presented to me. I will ask Shri Baig to take it and use it for the development of Indian institutions and such other things in this country.

THE AGE OF THE COMMON MAN

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here this evening and see from the faces of the large crowds assembled here your warm, friendly, affectionate greetings to us who are from India.

Some time before the second millennium B.C., we belonged to one single family. A few of us went a little farther east, and some stayed behind. All the same, we maintained our connections all through these centuries, and my visit today is only one instance of that meeting of friends of centuries. I am happy to be here and see the glow, the feeling on the faces of people, the eagerness of people to make a better life for themselves.

We live today in a crucial age of history. So many nations, which were submerged, are now becoming free and independent. Almost all nations are trying their best to raise the standards of their common people. This may be regarded not merely as the age of the emerging unity of the world, but also as the age of the common man. The common man's necessaries—food, clothing and shelter—are to be provided for all human beings so that the resources of humanity could be utilized for the best purpose.

I am, therefore, glad to be here in this city of Tehran and see the way in which new factories, industrial establishments and others are growing up. What we need for a prosperous country, for a progressive country, are : wise leadership, clean administration, economic opportunity, social equality and national cohesion. You must have leaders who know where they wish to go, to find out what the ideals are towards which nations are moving today. They must, therefore, guide us properly with regard to the goals we set before ourselves.

Speech at the Civic Reception, Tehran, 18 May, 1963

In implementing these ideals, you must have a clean administration. People must try to put into the country what best they have, and not take from it whatever they can. Therefore, cleanness and honesty of administration are equally essential. Economic opportunity and social equality are the needs of all human beings. Nobody wishes to be treated as inferior to others. We are children of the One Supreme, and that Supreme intends that every one of us should grow to maturity, should be partners in the quest for goodness, truth and beauty, not rivals in the pursuit of power. Therefore it is that there must be a sense of social equality. The great religion of Islam which you profess is against any kind of social inequality, and its precepts must be enforced in our daily life. If you have wise leadership, an honest administration, economic opportunity and social equality and if, in addition, you have a cohering purpose, some kind of guiding principle, a cementing bond which makes you all feel that you belong to one great nation, you will be a prosperous, progressive, civilized State. I have no doubt about it. It is exactly the same thing which the world at large requires.

I said that we are living in a crucial age. We are becoming a single unit. What is it that we require ? : wise leadership; once again there must be leaders who look upon nations as subordinate to the interests of humanity as a whole, and you require administrators who are able to implement these ideals and enforce them. Just as we need to remove social and economic inequalities within a State, so should we remove racial discrimination, colonial domination, every kind of domination of one nation by another—economic, political, social, religious or racial. All these things will have to be removed if the peoples of the world should feel that they belong to one world, that they belong to a unit. They are really human beings first and foremost, and later French, Germans, Iranians, Indians or Afghans. All other facts are subordinate to the one fundamental quality of humanity. If, therefore, the root principle of equality is established, if economic exploitation, political domination and racial discrimination are removed, the world will move towards achieving its unity. It is these inequalities which are at the root of all conflicts in this world. Anybody who is dominated wishes to throw off the domination. If you are racially discriminated against, you wish to protest against racial discrimination. If you are economically exploited, you wish to get rid of economic exploitation. More than all this, as I said now, for a nation you require cohesion, for a world you require community of ideals and purposes. All the nations of the world must become like-minded. They must feel that they are working for one supreme goal, the enabling of all parts of humanity to get to the forward state.

If a finger is hurt, it is not the finger that feels the pain, it is the

whole body, the whole human being that feels the pain. So if any nation is dominated by another or exploited by another, or racially discriminated against, it is an injury to the whole of humanity; it is not merely injury to that particular nation. So it is that we in the United Nations are trying to develop unity of ideals, unity of purpose. The same thing that is necessary for national stability is necessary for international security, too : the rooting out of the forces which bring about conflict. Leadership, clean administration, economic opportunity, national cohesion and absolute equality and international unity, these go together.

I hope that the youngsters who are not wedded to the past, who are advancing into the future, who are attempting their best to see a better world for themselves, will see their dream accomplished. I wish them well.

THE INDO-IRANIAN ASSOCIATION

Your Excellency and friends : I am very grateful to you for the kind words which you have just said about me.

I am returning straight from a visit to your Museum. That visit was an education in itself. It impresses on you the antiquity and the continuity of the great Iranian tradition spread over four to five thousand years. It also points out to you the antiquity of our relations with Iran, the Indo-Iranian relations, of which this Association is a symbol, the present symbol, so to say.

I saw there at the Museum a number of things which reminded me of the common substructure from which our two traditions have grown up. I saw a picture of Darius the Second with the symbol of the sun before him. The sun is said to be the visible symbol of the Divine, the symbol which conveys to us that there is an unseen mystery. The sun, as we put it in India, is the visible symbol of the unseen Reality which dwells above. I saw there the lotus flower, the lotus which has been used in India for many centuries, the lotus which indicates, however downcast and depressed we may be, that there are possibilities by which we can make of ourselves a beautiful offering to the Divine. The lotus rises from mud but slowly becomes a flower of beauty; and that flower of beauty is offered to the Divine as the human offering. I saw these two things there, in that picture of Darius, the sun and the lotus—symbols which are common to the whole Indo-Aryan tradition.

Speech at the reception held by the Indo-Iranian Association, Tehran, 18 May, 1963

The ancient Persian god, Mithra, became the source of Mithraism, and he was very near conquering the whole European world. It was a question of touch-and-go whether Christ would win or Mithra would.

I saw the humped bulls in several cases in the Museum. Your tradition has been a long and continuous one; the remarkable feature is that you have preserved that tradition by assimilating whatever influences were brought to bear upon you. You had the quality of renewing your tradition in response to the influences which were brought to bear on you during the different generations.

I saw there the Gandhara art. The same thing is found in India. Again, when the Greeks came, the onward march of Alexander was checked by the Mauryan emperors in India, but he did occupy parts of Iran and Afghanistan. I saw there in the Museum the influence of the Greeks; yet the traditional Iran was not disturbed. It was merely enriched, it was greatly influenced. And we come down even to the recent times of the Persian paintings, architecture, etc. Here again, you have influenced us a great deal and we have much in common.

The quality of self-renewal is what preserves civilization in this world. If they are unable to renew themselves, they become static, stagnant, and decay and die. If they have the vitality of genius, they are able to assimilate whatever is presented to them and make it a part of their very being. That is what the Iranian tradition has done. If it is preserved today, if that Museum illustrates to you the long reign of the Iranian tradition for nearly four to five thousand years, it is owing to this quality of youth, of self-renewal, of the capacity to assimilate whatever is assimilable to your tradition and the capacity to throw away, reject, whatever is not in conformity with your great tradition—to discard the useless things and assimilate the things which are of use to you. That is what you find there.

This Indo-Iranian Association sets the seal on this long, continuous tradition. Let us remember that the greatness of a civilization does not consist in its magnificent works of public utility or its great military power or industrial development. It depends on the quality of the minds and hearts of the people themselves. Their minds and hearts have been shaped by your great literary artists—Firdausi, Jalaluddin Rumi, Sadi, Hafiz and innumerable other writers. They have shaped the minds and hearts of the Persian people. They have given to them an artistic temperament, a delicacy of refinement, a capacity to notice whatever is valuable. All these things are the product of the great literary figures who flourished in Iran.

The world today is becoming one. There was a time when people took it as axiomatic that everything in this world moved by the values which Greece, Rome and Palestine have given. Today we recognize that there are other values of civilized life, which are the contributions

of Iran, India and China. Just as in ages past we were fed on one particular tradition, today we have to be fed on all the traditions which have enriched human civilization; because if there is one problem which is germane to us today, which is relevant to our generation, it is this emergence of the world into a unitary whole. You may have political arrangements, you may have economic alliances, you may have the United Nations Organization—all these may bring about an external kind of unity, but what is necessary to sustain that unity is an intellectual and spiritual one. You must develop a world mind, a world conscience, if a world authority is to be established properly. If such a world mind is to be developed, the contributions of Iran to that world mind will be considerable. You will be there representing your specific values; you will try to enrich this world conscience by the specific contributions for which you have made yourself responsible for long ages.

Suddenly some things happen, political defeats, economic failures, etc., but all these things need not depress us, need not dishearten us. So long as the soul is alive, the body will be there. It may be weak, it may be frail, but you will be able to build for yourself an appropriate, suitable body to suit your own particular mental attitude. So the most vital thing in the world is the soul of a nation. It is not so much the wealth that you lose—you may regain it; or the health that you may lose—you may recover it; but once the soul is dead nothing on earth can revive it. So it is essential for us to preserve the soul of a great country like Iran. And I am happy to note that you are doing your utmost to preserve the soul of Iran. That soul is of immense importance, not merely to Iran but to the whole world.

Our two countries have worked together from early times, when the Indians and the Iranians separated, one going farther east and the other settling down here. The whole nation is called Iran, Ariana, Aryavarta. The word "Aryan" is common to all these three, the Iranian people, the Afghans and the Indian people. They all arose from the same stock. They all belong to the same family, and even when the Semitic influences of Islam came into Iran, into Afghanistan, into India, these did not remain isolated, detached from the currents of these different countries. They were assimilated by them. The great mystic traditions which Iran has developed—the same kind of tradition which India is developing and has developed—these are instances to show that if you have life, you can take in anything which is submitted to you. What you require today is a wider comprehension, a larger charity, a greater tolerance for other people's beliefs and cultures. These are the ideals which have sustained the great nations of the world. If you become self-centred, nationalistic, and forget the universalist trends which you have, you will pass out as so many nations in the world have

passed out. Commenting on the battles of the Peloponnesian war, Thucydides said : "Love of power is like a vicious harlot who seduces men and nations, and brings them down to their ruin." If we are overtaken by the love of power, we will pass out. If we are overtaken by the love of friendship or brotherhood, if we try to bring the whole world into a single unit, differences of race, nationality and religion do not matter so much, while the fundamental emotions, the fundamental ideals and aspirations of peoples are discovered to be exactly the same, beneath any kind of skin, beneath any kind of nationality. If we emphasize these human aspects, as against the artificial aspects which are contingent, fundamentally irrelevant and which divide us from one another, and if we develop the humanistic attitude, the world will survive, and we will also be able to say that we have done something towards the survival of the world.

This Indo-Iranian Association, I have no doubt, is emphasizing the points of similarity, the great points which bring our two nations together. This has to become not merely the Indo-Iranian but the whole world society which has brought us together in this our generation on account of the methods of transport and communications and the scientific marvels of technical devices, and which has become one. We have to give to it the soul it is groping for; and that soul can only be one of humanism, tolerance and charity.

OUR OLD FRIENDSHIP WITH USA

MR President, I thank you for your very kind words, and I am glad to be here accepting your invitation. It gives me an opportunity to meet you and Mrs Kennedy, the leaders of your Government and your people.

Our relations with your country have been close and intimate. In the period of our struggle for independence we had great sympathy and support from your Government and people. Mr Roosevelt sent us two envoys, Mr Phillips and Mr Johnson, even though we were not a free nation then, to help us in coming to a solution of our problem.

Again, after we won our freedom, when we were trying to put some kind of economic and social content into freedom, you came to our assistance a great deal. Latterly, when we had the challenge from China, the assistance which was so promptly and readily rendered to us can't be forgotten.

Reply to President Kennedy's Address of Welcome, Washington, 3 June, 1963

We greet in you, Mr President, an understanding and sympathetic friend, aware of the efforts we are making to build a liberal democracy in our country at a time when in many parts of the world the fabric of democracy is crumbling down.

I hope in the few days I stay here we will be able to learn the attitudes and objectives of our two countries a little better.

INDIA AND BRITAIN

Mr Duncan Sandys and friends : I am grateful to you for your warm and generous words of welcome to me. I am no stranger to this country. I have worked here for a number of years, and I now happen to be the elected head of a Commonwealth country—in fact, the largest Commonwealth country. When you spoke about my work as teacher, thinker, etc., it was kind of you to refer to these things. When you talk about the Order of Merit and its members, people of respected names belonging to this country, including non-British nationals—two honorary members outside being President Eisenhower and Dr Schweitzer, and I happen to be the third—I appreciate the honour and the words which, as you mentioned, the Queen said to me this afternoon.

So far as our country is concerned, you know what is happening there. It is easy to be unduly critical, but I would like you to consider that nearly 450 million people, professing different religions, speaking different languages, belonging to different geographical areas with their distinctiveness, are all held together, these fifteen years after independence, by administrative continuity and political stability. If you turn around and see what is happening in smaller countries you will appreciate the importance of this fact.

You will appreciate that when once we had political freedom, we tried to use it for the purpose of raising the material standards of our people. Our greatest enemy is poverty and it is that we are attempting to fight. We are fighting it by all the means and resources at our disposal. The road is long and the goal is not very near; but yet, the struggle is on and we are doing our utmost.

Another thing that you have to remember is—we established social equality by means of adult franchise; the rich and the poor, men and women, all those who are of the age which qualifies them for maturity are entitled to vote. And we had three general elections, and all of

Speech at a Press reception held at Marlborough House, London, 12 June, 1963

them, speaking generally, passed off very smoothly. And even in the recent crisis we had put our democracy to the test, and we survived the test, and we are still progressing and operating within the framework of democratic institutions.

We have got problems of our own, which we are trying to solve as peacefully as we can. But when conflicts are thrust on us, it is our duty to protect the security of our country. This conflict is not of our choosing. It is something for which we have not prepared ourselves. So, hereafter, it is essential that we should be well protected, well guarded. We do not want to build our defences for the purpose of occupying other people's territories or attacking other people. We want to defend ourselves when attacked. That is the purpose for which we are trying to build up our strength.

We are greatly heartened by the statement made by your Prime Minister when the crisis first occurred that Britain will do everything in her power to assist India. The kind of affection and friendship for India that you people have was shown spontaneously on that occasion; your Government then reflected not merely the views of your Government, but the sentiments of the common people in this country. I have no doubt about it. And I have no doubt that we will go on working together until we are able to see to it that love and justice prevail among the peoples of our two countries and the world.

THE COMMONWEALTH

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Distinguished Guests : I am very happy to be here and to undertake this pleasant task of opening the Fifth Biennial Canadian Art Exhibition. Your Majesty has been generous in her account of Indo-British relations and of my personal contribution to the strengthening of those relations. Your vision of the future, the future of the world, which should progress through freedom, justice and peace to a Commonwealth of free, co-operating nations, of which our Commonwealth is a foretaste, is something which appeals to us all. You referred to the differences between us, and that in 1926 I came to this country. It was the same year in which Lord Balfour at the Imperial Conference made preparations for what came to be called the Statute of Westminster. The British Commonwealth is not an economic bloc or a political association; it is an assembly of free nations of the world, having their own

Speech at the Commonwealth Institute while opening the Exhibition of Canadian Art, 13 June, 1963

domestic policies and foreign policies and yet co-operating one with another to work for the progress of mankind. It was Burke who said that magnanimity in politics is the highest wisdom. Several countries which have European descent, like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Eire attained their independence before the Second World War. After the Second World War we attained our independence. There were differences, as you said, but may I say here that the transfer of power to India was one of the greatest acts of reconciliation in human history. A country of a different race, of a different culture, working with the British nation and the peoples of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Eire, etc., and all other countries, that was the preparation, so to say, for the development of independence in other countries. Leaders of Britain felt that of the greatest value to the Commonwealth would be a free, independent India. That happened. How much was reciprocated in goodwill and work is evident from the fact that when we had the chance of electing a Governor-General we chose an English nobleman as our first Governor-General. And as you yourself said, when you visited India, and when Prince Philip came earlier, you felt the warmth of affection and goodwill of the people of India. The British connection has entered into the bloodstream of India's history. Several of the policies, procedures, processes we adopted were all taken from the British Constitution. Equality before the law, a non-dogmatic approach, avoidance of all extremes and an effort to work out solutions in a spirit of compromise and adjustment of differences and not pressing your own views to their logical conclusions—all these things we have got from the British example and British history. They have now become a part and parcel of our own history. More important than the political arrangements and economic alliances is the understanding between peoples. That kind of understanding is brought about by a knowledge of other peoples' culture, their art forms, and that is the way in which you get to the heart of another country. If we wish to know the soul of a country, it is reflected in its literature, in its art. Art really is the poetry, so to say, of human life. Other things merely give us the sustenance, the wherewithal by which we can live, but the kind of good life which we have to live depends on the way in which we use our freedom for the purpose of expressing our own soul. As I went round this building I thought : Here you are doing vital work, work of fundamental importance, understanding one another, which is the basis of all human fellowship, and if this work goes on progressively I have no doubt this world will settle down to a peaceful, prosperous, human fellowship. The one goal which we all have—and we should not be dispirited by difficulties or obstacles—is that we have to have our faces turned towards the sun, which is there, without any kind of

hesitation in our minds. The Canadian Art Exhibition which you, Your Majesty, have just requested me to open will show us how vital the Canadian people are and what they are doing now. Art, if it is to be of the highest form, should not merely entertain or appeal to our senses, not merely impart knowledge, but should transmit vitality; it should overwhelm our being, make us see differently, give us new eyes by which we can see the same things, and that is the fundamental aim of all art. It must appeal to the senses, appeal to the mind; it must appeal to the spirit of man; it must entertain, instruct or educate and elevate the spirit. I have no doubt the work done by the Canadian artists, which you will see for yourselves, has all these great qualities.

INDIA AND MOROCCO

MR Ambassador : we welcome you most heartily to our country as the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco.

I am glad to know that you were here before and that you know our aims and aspirations and for what we are working. So you have come with a good knowledge of our past and I have no doubt that your efforts to promote friendly relations between our two countries will meet with considerable success.

You refer to the fact that we all achieved our independence recently and that it is our moral obligation to assist people who are now struggling to emancipate themselves. You may rest assured that it will be our constant endeavour to help every nation which is now struggling to emerge into freedom.

We are trying to modernize ourselves as you are trying to do. So there are several problems in common between us. It is possible for us to learn from each other, and we hope we will do so.

In the international organizations, we work for the same ideals, the same ideals of establishing a federation of free peoples in the world by abolishing colonialism, racial segregation, etc. In this endeavour you will get our best support and sympathy.

May I request you to convey to your King our greetings and best wishes for his personal well-being and the welfare of his people.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Morocco, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 17 July, 1963

INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES

Mr Ambassador : we are very glad to welcome you as the Ambassador of the United States of America to our country. You are no stranger to us. You are an old friend who worked here as an Ambassador for some years and thereafter maintained your interest in our progress and development.

We are both adopting systems of democracy which seems to be the arrangement where we elect a man on whom we can put all the blame !

The remarks which you made about our efforts for human improvement during these sixteen years show how deeply interested you have been in our endeavours.

You rightly emphasize that in spite of differences, the areas of agreement between our two countries are vast. We aim at the development of a stable economic and social democracy, and we are striving our utmost to embody this social vision in our daily life. This democratic purpose and outlook bind our two nations together.

It is heartening to hear that your country, your people, the Government and your President are greatly interested in the progress we are making and that they will assist us in our development and defence plans. Both our countries are interested in safeguarding peace which alone can enable us to achieve progress. The efforts which the leading countries of the world are now making for an effective nuclear-test ban have our deepest sympathy and support.

I have no doubt that during your period of office our relations, close and intimate as they are, will grow stronger. Our best wishes for your success as the new Ambassador of your country.

Kindly convey to your President my best wishes for his personal well-being and for the progress and prosperity of the American people.

INDO-NEPALESE TIES

Your Majesties : we are extremely delighted to have you with us again. You are no strangers to our country. Our two countries are bound together by close ties of geography, history and culture. The two great religions of Hinduism and Buddhism, which have found a home in your country, live in harmony and friendship without any strife, bigotry or intolerance.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of the United States of America, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 19 July, 1963

Welcome to the King and Queen of Nepal, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 27 August, 1963

You are also aware, Your Majesty, of the trends and requirements of the modern age. The reforms that you have introduced recently with regard to land and social matters are great steps towards the emancipation of the people of Nepal. *Status quo* is not a way of life. The world is moving steadily and we have to adjust ourselves to the new conditions. We have to face the challenge with courage, daring and imagination. You have been trying to do so, as far as Nepal is concerned.

In foreign affairs, too, our two countries have very much in common. We are both non-aligned. You have just signed the Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty, and we did so some days ago. We are interested in working for a world of peace and international co-operation. I have no doubt that the few days you will spend here will be found most interesting and useful by us and, I hope, you will also find them useful. Welcome to you, Your Majesties.

INDIA AND NEPAL: THE HERITAGE

YOUR Majesties, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: it is my very great pleasure, Your Majesties, to welcome you both and the members of your party, on behalf of the Government and the people of this country, and I express the wish and hope that your stay here, formal and informal, would be both interesting and enjoyable.

The monarchical tradition in Nepal has been a very long one. The first Lichchhavi King said, "My purified heart tells me that I should work for the good of my people. I am trying my very best to make my people as happy as possible." That is how he put it. He said that the duty of the king was to work for the good of the people over whom he was said to rule. It is that great tradition which Your Majesty has inherited.

Happiness is not something which is merely outward in character. You are paying a visit to Amarnath. When I was in Kathmandu for your coronation, I visited Pasupatinath temple, and I saw the Aśokan column on which Aśoka, in the 3rd century B.C., inscribed, "Here Buddha, Sakyamuni, was born." Everyone who goes there is impressed by the spirit of religion that prevails in the country, and your intending pilgrimage to Amarnath is an expression of that spirit of the country.

Many of us live on the outward scene; we live from day to day, from hour to hour; there is no pattern, no purpose, there is no studying of our depths, no kindling of the inner light which is there dormant all the time. The Buddhist maxim is *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ,*

Speech at dinner in honour of the King and Queen of Nepal, New Delhi, 27 August, 1963



Receiving President Luebke of the Federal Republic of Germany, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 26 November, 1962

Speaking at a banquet held in honour of President Luebke of the Federal Republic of Germany, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 26 November, 1962





Receiving the King of Laos, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 27 March, 1963

the jewel is in the lotus; the Hindu saying is *deho devālayo nāma,* that is, *deha* is the body, the *ālaya* of God. So each human being has in him a sacred source of sanctity, a sense of holiness, a spark of divinity, which we in our hectic existence overlook altogether. And that is why we have so many cases of neurosis and instability; there is not that inward anchorage in which alone people can find real comfort.

These great maxims which were announced years ago have not been put into practice by us. They require that we should afford every human being, man or woman, every kind of opportunity to grow into fullness. When we talk about self-expression, we must have a self before we can express it. When we once have a self, all opportunities should be afforded to us by which that self-expression could be realized. The recent reforms that you have brought about are those asserting the equality of men and women before the law, prohibiting polygamy, encouraging widow-marriages and inter-caste marriages and condemning unequal marriages—we have had terrific instances in our history to show what disastrous results these unequal marriages have had. Take the story of Rama : you know the way in which his father had a queen who wanted her son to be installed on the throne. In spite of all the lessons which our scriptures teach us, we still had a social order which was unequal in character, iniquitous in its nature. These social ills have come down to us from ages past. It requires great courage to scrap them. That you have had the courage to scrap them and introduce a new social code is a matter of gratification to us all. But I should say that inserting anything in a code is different from implementing it. We have inserted in our own code the abolition of untouchability and the repudiation of caste so far as public relations are concerned. But we still know to our cost how these things which obsessed men's minds still have a hold on them. Disciplined effort, education and propaganda are necessary before these laws become actual functioning realities. That is a thing which we should remember all the time.

Again, you are trying your very best to adopt planned economic development and trying to see to it that all individuals have the minimum comforts of clothing and shelter. Millions of people, all over the world, are illiterate and submerged in the shadows and they do not lead even a kind of animal existence where they can scrape some food. Such are the intolerable inhuman conditions in which people live in many parts of the world. If we want to remove these evils, it is essential for us to increase our wealth, plan our development, improve our industries and make it possible for our ordinary people to say : we are proud to belong to a country which looks after us, which gives us enough facilities for the expression of our souls.

If social freedom, religious freedom and economic freedom are given to the people, you may take it that they will surmount the tribal loyalties, the smaller group feelings which they have and work for national cohesion. A national consciousness will develop and the individuals will feel that they are effectively participating in the work of the administration, in the work of the government. These things will inevitably follow. The steps which you have taken are only the beginnings, but these beginnings, if successfully carried out, will lead ultimately to a civilized, modern Nepal. You would be the creator of such a State, if these steps are carried out without rest and without haste to their ultimate conclusion.

All these things count for nothing unless we preserve peace in this world, unless we have that feeling of *maitri* on which the Buddha insists, the feeling of *sneha,* friendship for all human beings and for all the countries, and understanding of their problems, and not merely sit in judgment on them, trying to find out what their difficulties are. If we are able to get under their skin and find out what their problems are, we will have greater understanding of their difficulties and sympathize with them. The world suffers from lack of communication. If communication is there, not merely the outward communication but the inward communication of heart to heart, or understanding of the problems of other people, this world will become a happier place than what it happens to be at the present moment.

We have so many things in common—a common heritage, common aspirations for the future, common ambitions for working for a fellowship of the free nations of the world. The federation of fear, so to say, has to be knocked down; a federation of free peoples will have to be established. When we have so many things in common, when we are neighbours ourselves, your security and stability are as vital to us as our security and stability are vital to you. We can, therefore, work with this one common objective of making the peoples of our countries happier and better than what they happen to be. Our friendship is based on cultural links, on geographical proximity, on historic traditions, on a great heritage to which we are both heirs. It is my ambition that our policy towards each other must be one, if nothing more, of friendship and the well-being of each other's peoples. It is my great honour now to request you to drink to the health of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal.

INDIA AND CEYLON

I AM very pleased to welcome you as the High Commissioner of Ceylon to our country.

Ceylon and India have been bound together for centuries by historical, cultural, religious and racial affinities. We have been trying to deepen our awareness and increase our objects of compassion. If we adopt these principles, whatever may be our differences springing up now and then, there is no doubt that these enduring foundations will help us to overcome them. We have several fields in which we can co-operate, and it is my earnest hope that during your term of office our co-operation will increase in the cultural, economic and international fields. You may rest assured that we will offer you the utmost co-operation.

Kindly convey to your Government and people our best wishes for their progress and prosperity.

INDIA AND MONGOLIA

MR Ambassador : it is with great pleasure that I welcome you to my country. I have a vivid recollection of my visit to your country. Though it was brief, it was a memorable one. I had the pleasure of meeting your President Sambu and your Prime Minister. The very name of your President indicates the intimate cultural ties between our two countries.

It is a matter of satisfaction to us that we both are trying to develop the economic life of our countries, and in that we can learn from each other. Your country has a vast area and a small population, and you are endeavouring to develop your natural resources. On the international side we are both working for peace, and we believe in peaceful co-operation among nations. I am sure that we can co-operate with each other here. I may assure you that you will have the fullest co-operation from our people and officials in your attempt to strengthen the relations between our two countries. Kindly convey to your President, your Government and people our best wishes for their progress and prosperity.

Address on receiving Letters of Commission of the High Commissioner of Ceylon, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 10 September, 1963

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Mongolia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 19 September, 1963

INDIA AND HUNGARY

Mr Ambassador : I warmly welcome you to our country as the Ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary. Your country passed through many difficulties in recent times and now has attained stable conditions.

There are several things which bind us together. We are both for the development of our countries on the economic plane. We are both interested in the preservation of peace and complete disarmament. A symbol of this is the signing of an agreement between our Atomic Energy Commission and the Hungarian National Atomic Energy Commission in 1961 for the development of atomic energy. Our trade relations are steadily improving and we concluded an agreement early this year. Cultural relations also are on the increase. Our students are getting their training in your country and some of your students are here. These exchanges will grow in the course of time. Exchanges of visits of leaders will be useful in removing misunderstandings and suspicions. I have no doubt that these exchanges will increase.

I would like you to convey to your President and Members of the Presidium and the people of Hungary our best wishes for their peaceful progress and prosperity.

INDIA AND LEBANON

Mr Ambassador : I welcome you most heartily as the new Ambassador of Lebanon to our country. You appropriately referred to the contributions made to civilization by our two countries. They are still alive and wedded to the great ideals of political freedom, economic and social justice and friendship for all nations. It is, therefore, possible for us to work together for the achievement of these ideals; for though they are admitted as ideals, they have not yet become a reality, and in this endeavour of transforming the ideals into reality we can learn from each other.

In the international field, as you mention, it will be possible for us to work for the establishment of a commonwealth of nations where each nation will work in peace and amity not only for its own advantage but for the benefit of all humanity. May I request you to convey to your

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Hungary, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 23 September, 1963

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Lebanon, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 5 October, 1963

President my best wishes. I may assure you that you will have our fullest co-operation in your efforts to strengthen the friendly relations between our two countries.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Mr High Commissioner: we are glad to see you here and we welcome you as the High Commissioner of Pakistan in India.

You refer to the close ties binding our two countries—race, language, culture and history. These are indissoluble ties on which we can build an enduring friendship.

You refer to some points of difference today. It should be our endeavour to dissipate these mists of misunderstanding and work on the basis of mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

I have no doubt that in your endeavour you will have the hearty support of the Government and people of this country.

Will you kindly convey to your President my best wishes for his personal well-being and for the peace and prosperity of the people of Pakistan?

INDIA AND THAILAND

Mr Ambassador: I welcome you most heartily to our country as the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Thailand.

You refer to the close and intimate ties which prevail between our two countries. Years ago I was on a visit to your country and I found that your script, literature and culture and our script, literature and culture have much in common. With such strong bonds it will be easy for us to build up ties of friendship which will endure for long.

We are both working for the same goal of making our people feel proud of belonging to their country, whatever it may be, Thailand or India, which is concerned in their well-being. That is the essential basis of any kind of stable government in this world.

Address on receiving Letters of Commission of the High Commissioner of Pakistan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 12 October, 1963

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Thailand, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 2 November, 1963

I hope that in the UNO, UNESCO and other organizations we will work together for the common cause.

Will you kindly convey to His Majesty our best wishes for his personal well-being and the wishes of us all for the well-being of the people of Thailand ?

GREETINGS TO NEPAL

I AM grateful to His Majesty's goodness and generosity for his kind words. As he reminded you, I was here some years ago for His Majesty's coronation. Since then Nepal has changed a great deal. A people with relative lack of sophistication have been exposed to the winds of current modernism. The adjustment to new ways of life is always difficult and yet the process is going on. Several changes in ancient institutions have taken place. Polygamy is abolished, the minimum age for marriage of girls and boys is prescribed at 14 and 18 years, respectively. There is equality of men and women before the law. Discrimination based on caste is removed. Attempts to transform this ancient State, which has enjoyed dignified independence for many centuries, into a modern one are being made.

For us in India, Nepal is sacred on account of the Pasupatinath temple and the Buddhist developments. It gives one a thrill to see the birth-place of the Buddha where Aśoka built a column stating : "Here was born Sakyamuni." The influence of Buddhism is profound throughout the East and in some parts of the West also. For us, therefore, Nepal is a place of pilgrimage. We feel that we have come from home to home. The people are not strangers; they are brothers in faith and it will be our constant endeavour to do what little we can to see Nepal's becoming a prosperous modern State.

Nepal has been enjoying dignified independence for many centuries. I may assure her that she has a good friend in India who is keen on the preservation of the independence and integrity of Nepal.

Speech on arrival at Kathmandu airport, Nepal, 4 November, 1963

THE NEPAL-BHARAT MAITRI SANGH

FRIENDS : I am deeply thankful to you for this reception held by the Nepal-Bharat Maitri Sangh and for the very warm words which were uttered by you in your address. I just had a glimpse into the Bir Library and looked at the books and manuscripts there, and found that I was passing, when I looked at them, from home to home. In other words, the classics which shaped the minds and hearts of our people are exactly the same. I found there the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Śaiva āgamas*, etc. They are being published and they contribute to the real making of man, his mind and his heart. These are the very books which are studied in our country also. So it was that I found an essential kinship in the substructure of consciousness between our two countries on which this Sangh is based and is working.

The kingdom of knowledge cannot be divided against itself. Science, religion, art—they have all one supreme purpose in view. One of them cannot be divorced or dissociated from the other. When you talk of religion, you do not believe in a kind of religion which is unscientific, or which indulges in incredible dogmas or meaningless rites. You gave me the symbol of the Buddha; the Buddha is asking us to think for ourselves and find out the truths. He tells us :

parīkṣya bhikṣavo grāhyaṁ
mad vacho natu gauravāt

My words you understand, because of *parīkṣya*, after testing them, *natu gauravāt*, not out of mere regard for me, see them, put them to the test, find out through logic and life whether the statements which I made are credible, whether they appeal to your intellect and conscience; if not, throw them out. That was the message the Buddha gave, and ultimately what did he come to ? He reached the idea that everyone must develop inward awareness and outward compassion. The deeper your insight becomes, the more compassionate you become. Anatole France on the 1st of May, 1890, records in his *Autobiography* : "I went and looked into the corner where the Asian gods lived in their simplicity and silence. My eyes fell on the statue of the Buddha with upraised hands beckoning to suffering humanity." If you wish to redeem yourself from suffering, deepen your wisdom, increase the objects of your compassion. *Prajñā*, wisdom; *karuṇā*, compassion—these constitute the whole of religion. That was what the Buddha said, and Anatole France, sophisticated as he was, intellectual as he was, an atheist as he professed to be, said, "When I looked at that image, I felt like kneeling down and

Speech at reception given by the Nepal-Bharat Maitri Sangh, Kathmandu, 5 November, 1963

praying to him as to a god, for if ever a god walked on this earth, it was he."

Perhaps, some of you may not know that the great General Sir Ian Hamilton, when he died, left as a bequest to Sir Winston Churchill, who is still alive, an image of the Buddha and said, "If your mind is tormented, if you are tortured, if you don't know what to do, if you are confused, look at that image. It will give you some comfort. It will give you some consolation." So many others in the world have taken to the gospel of the Buddha for the simple reason that it is a gospel which is based on a study of experience and does not ask us to accept anything, saying, so and so said this or so and so denied it. He merely proceeded on what was given to everyone, what everyone could test and find out for himself.

This is also true of the religion which we profess though it has been confused so much. We look at the scientific view of the world, we look at this whole universe; we find how this universe from a molten mass of fire has come to the present stage through the layers of life, mind, intellect and spirit. There has been a progressive ascent in this universe from the lowest beginnings in matter up to a God-intoxicated man like the Buddha. If there is this progress, it cannot be due to chance; it cannot be due to mere accident. You cannot have such a purposeful ascent in this world from one stage to another unless there is an animating intelligence, unless there is some kind of purpose beneath. It was Einstein who said, "You look at the world, take a scientific view. You will be impressed by the presence of a cosmic mystery which pervades this universe."

sarva śāstra prayojanaṁ
tatva darśaṇaṁ

The essential aim of all scientific disciplines is the knowledge of Reality, *tatva darśaṇaṁ*—that you should have a personal insight into Reality. That is the purpose of science. It is wrong, therefore, to think that science leads us one way and religion leads us another. They both go the same way. They both tell us that if we are earnest students of science there is a purpose in this world, that the universe is proceeding from stage to stage until at last, in the words of the Buddha, humanity is redeemed and the Kingdom of God is established. The words which he uttered, according to the *Mahāyāna,* are : "So long as there is one individual who is unredeemed, I will not enter *parinirvāṇa.* I will be here. I will work for the redemption of the whole of humanity." The redemption of humanity was the purpose which the Buddha had. That is the purpose which all religious prophets have. That is the purpose of *sarvamukti* in which our thinkers have also described that

ultimate stage, the kingdom of the spirit, where each individual becomes emancipated from his petty parochialisms, prejudices, bitterness, greed and hatred. It is such an emancipated individual that will be regarded as a true son of the spirit. So I wish to say what I began with. I wanted to say that the kingdom of knowledge cannot be divided against itself. Science leads you to that.

Come to art. What is it that art does ? It wishes to give you a glimpse into the eternal, *kalā, kaṁ paramātmānaṁ lāti gṛhṇāti iti kalā.* It brings about a refinement of your own spirit, *ātma saṁskṛtiviṣaya śilpāni.* All the *śilpams* are therefore for the purpose of refining your own spirit. That is what it comes to. So also religion directly asks you to get into touch with the Supreme, to lacerate your bodies, to torture your minds, if necessary, to go through fasts and pilgrimages until at last you are able to say, "I have seen God face to face." Until that realization comes, no man can say that his life is a fulfilled one. It is an unrealized one.

So science, art and religion—all these things aim at one goal. When I saw the musical instruments this morning somewhere, saw the books in the Bir Library and heard your language, when I note all that, I see how much there is in common, how much that is vital and fundamental is there binding our two countries together. We may have our differences here and there, but deep down there is this calm connection, a kind of intermingling, so to say, of the cultures of our two countries.

You have contributed a great deal to the development of Indian culture. You have seen also something of what we have done. So in a spirit of friendliness we must look at each other, and if we have such eyes, misunderstandings will be dissolved and a permanent union of hearts will be established between our two countries. It is that for which, I hope, you are struggling here. I have no doubt that the aim which you have is an inevitable one, one which is bound to happen, come what may. Whatever may be the cost or the consequences, India and Nepal will stand together.

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND NEPAL

FRIENDS : this enthusiastic audience, I know, is indicative of your affection for the country which I happen to represent; and I appreciate, therefore, your goodwill for India as evinced by this large gathering here. Your Chairman has referred to the world cause of peace, an idea that we have. Let us make it clear that we are not

Speech at Patan, Nepal, 7 November, 1963

interested in bringing about uniformity—what is wanted is not obliteration of national differences. Cosmopolitanism is quite different from internationalism. Internationalism requires each nation to be independent to make its own contribution to world culture. Cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, tries to steam-roll all nations into uniformity. Unity is different from uniformity.

We believe in unity and not in uniformity. We want Nepal, India and other nations to retain their distinctiveness, their different cultures, and to make worthy contributions to the cause of world harmony. It is a harmony of difference and not an obliteration of differences that we stand for. You are good enough to refer to *pañcaśīla*. *Pañcaśīla* was the doctrine enunciated by the Buddha who felt that no State could be great unless the individuals reformed themselves. *Pañcaśīla* was not, in its original conception, intended to be a code of international conduct. It was meant to be a code for each individual to remake himself and become a worthy unit of the general community. It stands for *satyavacana*, speaking the truth. We should not shrink from truth for fear of offending anyone. We should stand up for what we believe to be the truth.

Aparigraha is the second thing, non-possession, the absence of greed; we must not covet other people's possessions. *Asteya*, that is integrity : the individual must be loyal to himself, must speak what he feels, work with sincerity and earnestness for what he believes in. *Brahmacarya* or self-control : without restraining ourselves, we will not be able to restrain others. The last is *surāpāna niṣedha*, prohibition of intoxicating liquors, abstention, so to say, from drink. Nowadays, drinks are of different forms : by demagogy, we can produce an intoxicated mind; we can make people lose their balance by intoxicating them with all sorts of this. So, *satyavacana, aparigraha, asteya, brahmacarya, surāpāna niṣedha*—these were the five principles which the Buddha enunciated in *pañcaśīla*. That means that each individual will have to reform himself, will have to remake himself, if he is going to be of any use to the general community. So the reform of the State depends on the reform of the individual.

It is a great thing for me to be here and say that this ancient city, which has seen so many great things, which bears the influence of both the Hindu and the Buddhist cultures which fundamentally are more or less the same, and its influence shall breed in you a love for truth and goodness.

Lalitpuri is its other name. In other words, you have developed several fine arts and crafts. Our love of the past should inspire us in the future. It should breed confidence in us and not conceit. If there are people who take pride merely in the fact that once upon a time we were great, that conceit will lead us to ruin. Confidence is

one thing, conceit is quite different. The glories of the past must give us confidence, but they must not breed in us any kind of conceit. I see here that you are not interested in merely repeating the past; you are trying to advance into the future. The Industrial Estate, which I had the honour of visiting a few minutes ago, is a symbol of Indo-Nepalese collaboration. It also shows how you are trying to meet the challenges of modern times and go forward into the future. There is no life in this world for people who always look to the past. They become stagnant, static and dead. It is only the people who look to the future that make all the individuals believe that they have a chance to advance into the future, to build up the future. Countries which have adopted such a philosophy of life have gone forward. Those who are merely resting on their ancient laurels go backward. So, if this city has so much enthusiasm, if this enthusiasm is canalized, canalized not merely into a glorification of the past, but into the building of the future, I have no doubt that this country will have a great future ahead of it.

And you spoke about moral goodness. There is a basic core of goodness in each human heart. It is that basic core that you have to touch. You have to bring it out, and if you are able to canalize that basic goodness of human nature, you will be able to develop into a great country.

Mr Chairman and friends : it is a pleasure for me to be here. I know this enthusiasm is due not to me, but to the country which I happen to represent, a country which has had close intimacy with Nepal for many centuries and will have the same kind of friendliness and intimacy for many centuries to come. *Jai Nepal !*

INDIA AND JORDAN : MUTUAL SYMPATHY

YOUR Majesty : we are happy that you have been able to accept our invitation to visit this country and that you have come here now. We hope that you and your party will have a profitable and interesting time in our country.

We are glad to know that you are perhaps one of the youngest rulers in the world. Youth means the possession of an adventurous mind, not a repetitive mind. At a time when things are moving fast, we require the spirit of adventure, the spirit of innovation, the spirit of making changes in response to the changing currents of the world. You have

Welcome to King Hussein of Jordan, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 3 December, 1963

been trying to do your best in your country. We note with great satisfaction the increasing industrialization and the expansion of educational opportunities in Jordan. We want to live in this world with peace, dignity and honour. When we had the Chinese trouble, you were the first to express unequivocally your sympathy with us. We are grateful to you for all that, and we hope that you will have a pleasant time here. Welcome to our country.

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND JORDAN

YOUR Majesty, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen : I should like to express to Your Majesty how delighted we are that you are with us, and to convey to you on behalf of the Government and the people of this country our good wishes for your stay here.

Jordan we have heard of from classical and biblical times. It was sometime a Hebrew city; later under Seleucus it came under Greek influence. When the Romans succeeded the Greeks, it became a Roman city. Later on it came under Muslim influence, and the kingdom of which you are the Head today was established in 1946. So, you represent the history of centuries.

You also represent modernism. You were at Harrow, you were at Sandhurst, centres of intellectual learning and military training. You are a good pilot and a good photographer. That shows how very modern you are. With that modern outlook, you are trying to improve the conditions in your country, modernize your country, so to say, without losing your fidelity to the fundamentals of Islam. That is what you are attempting to do. I heard this evening that twenty per cent of your people are Christians, and that they have representation in your Cabinet; it shows the extremely tolerant spirit, absent from many parts of the world, which you have adopted. It is necessary for a good ruler, whether he is monarchical or constitutional or dictatorial, whatever he may be, that he should identify himself with the interests of the people. The cupidity of the few makes for the poverty of the masses, and when the masses suffer from poverty there is general unrest and resentment. It should be our endeavour to better human conditions, the living standards of our ordinary people. Your Majesty, you are attempting to do this by increasing your industrial output, by opening out educational opportunities to your people. You established a university only last year in Jordan and I was told that nearly 14,000 students of Jordan are in America, Europe, even

Speech at banquet in honour of King Hussein of Jordan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 3 December, 1963

in India, trying to get the best they can from other universities and countries. It shows your breadth of mind, your eagerness to learn, and to do so wherever you can. When these boys and girls return home, by their very presence your society will be raised, will be transformed. They will come and tell us that we should fight the common enemies of man—poverty, disease, hunger, tyranny and war itself. These are the things we are engaged in, a supremely important task in this crucial period of human history. War is our greatest enemy. We must all become partners in the quest for peace, stand by one another not in enmity, not in arming ourselves but in trying to protect the vital interests of humanity. They are the enduring ones. If we are able to stand up for them we will be able to build up a human society worthy of humanity. Humanity today is in an adolescent stage. It has not become an adult as yet. It is still groping for adulthood. It is still trying to go forward. There are several impediments in our own mind and impediments in the environment. If we are to be honest with ourselves, we must confess our evils. We must try to battle against them and try to improve not merely the outer conditions of the environment but our own inward condition. Mental illness or ill-health is a common feature even in affluent societies. Gangster methods are not unknown even in the most civilized countries of the world. All these things show that the times require to be altered a great deal, and you, in your influential position, with control over your population, with goodwill and with the co-operation of other people, will be able to develop your country to the heights you desire.

Amman, your capital, in classical times was known as Philadelphia, which means brotherly love, and it stood for brotherly love. If you have brotherly love, if you approach every problem in that spirit, without hate, violence or bitterness in your heart, if you make friends with all the people who happen to be estranged from you at a particular time, you will be able to make for a better society.

Your Majesty, I had two small quiet talks with you and I felt that you were burning with enthusiasm for the welfare of your people. That is the one good sign of any kind of ruler—not to think of himself but to think of the people whose fortunes are entrusted to him by accident, or inheritance, or whatever it may be. You have that love for your people and with that love for your people, you will go forward. Your industries are expanding, your educational opportunities are growing. Our relations with you in trade and culture are also increasing steadily, and your visit now will strengthen the bonds which already bind our two countries. As I said this noon, when we had this trouble with China, you were among the first to declare unequivocally your sympathies with the Indian people, with us, and you gave us courage and cheer at a time when we felt rather depressed. I thank you for that.

I have no doubt that under your guidance and leadership, if you fight bad things and if you establish democratic institutions as you say you have already done—you have a Parliament of two Chambers, 60 in the Lower House, 30 in the Upper House, the 60 in the Lower House being elected on adult franchise—and if this Parliament goes on, people will have the special pride that they are participating in the building up of the country. Each one must have a sense of that pride of belonging to a country which stands for great ideals. If you give them a purpose in life, you will have done a rewarding task yourself. You are a man of great courage and great adventure. You have youth on your side—not like me an old man here—and you will be able to do these things much better. I wish you the best of luck, Your Majesty. May I ask you to drink to the health of His Majesty the King of Jordan.

INDIA AND IRAQ

Mr Ambassador : I welcome you to our country as the Ambassador of Iraq. You are no stranger to our country. You have referred to the close ties which bind our two countries together. Our relations with the Arab people have been there for many centuries in trade, commerce and culture.

You referred to the great ideals which govern your country—social justice, racial equality, economic progress and desire for peace. We also accept these ideals. If we want to achieve economic development and social progress, we require political stability, administrative efficiency and friendship with all our neighbours and the other nations of the world. These are the ideals which you have affirmed. In implementing these ideals, whatever little we can do, we shall certainly do.

It is my hope that your work here will further strengthen the close relations between our two countries.

Kindly convey to your Government and people our best wishes for the prosperity and well-being of the people of Iraq.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Iraq, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 18 December, 1963

INDIA AND RUMANIA

Mr Ambassador : let me extend to you a very hearty welcome to our country as the new Ambassador of Rumania to India.

You have referred to several points which we have in common, our long traditions for example. In the 9th century B.C., the Greeks occupied some parts of your territory. You came under the influence of Rome; then the Turks came. Then you emancipated yourselves, and you are now an independent country. We have also a long tradition. So, that thing constitutes a point of similarity between our two cultures and our two traditions.

Now that we have gained independence, we are trying to focus all our endeavours on the development of our social and economic democracy. In this attempt you have been of considerable assistance to us. In the oil industry, we are benefiting a great deal from your co-operation, and I have no doubt that we will continue to do so.

You refer to peace as the fundamental basis on which any kind of national reconstruction can take place. On that we have similar objectives.

You refer to our mutual respect, mutual advantage and mutual recognition, and we are attempting to build up a world without wars, a world where it will be possible for all of us to live together in harmony. In that endeavour we are prepared to work together with you. You may be sure that in all your attempts to build friendly relations between our two countries and to work for a warless world, you can count on our co-operation.

I would like you to convey to your President our best wishes for his personal well-being and the prosperity of the people of Rumania. And I may assure you that you will have full co-operation in all your attempts to build up friendly relationship between our two countries.

INDIA AND COLOMBIA

Mr Ambassador : I welcome you most heartily to our country as the Ambassador of Colombia.

I have very pleasant recollections of my visit to Bogota about ten years ago, and I was greatly impressed by the similarity of ideals between our two countries.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Rumania, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 3 March, 1964

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Colombia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 9 March, 1964

We both are multi-racial and multi-religious societies. Both have adopted parliamentary democracy. We both accept the principle of equality before law of all people, whatever be their professions or faiths. These are great ideals which we have set before ourselves; but to implement them in practice is a more difficult task.

You rightly draw our attention to the fact of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in our country. We still look upon him as our guide and inspirer. That does not mean that we follow him in all the details of our lives. It is good, however, that we should recognize him as one who has set before us the great ideals of parliamentary democracy, of equality before law and respect for all faiths. These are the things which we have to aim at, and work out, with great difficulty.

Building up a social democracy and working for peace—these are the ideals which bind our two countries; and I have no doubt that in implementing these ideals we can co-operate with each other.

I am grateful to your President and your people for the very kind words which they have uttered about our growth and the work which we happen to be doing here. I would like you to convey to your President our very best wishes for the progress and prosperity of the people of Colombia and for the welfare of the President himself. So far as your work is concerned, you may rest assured that we will give you all the co-operation that we are capable of to help you to build up fraternal relations between our two countries.

INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN

MR Ambassador : we welcome you to our country as the Ambassador of Afghanistan, a country with which we have had close racial and cultural ties for many, many centuries.

I had the honour of visiting your country recently and I was greatly struck by the similarity of ideals and the earnest attempts that you are making to build up a democracy under the auspices of a monarchy. Your distinguished King is attempting to introduce a democratic structure and content so far as your country is concerned.

You refer to the kinship between our two nations. The very name Ariana indicates how close we are to each other. It shows the natural kinship between our two countries.

You talk about moral and spiritual values; you say that truth, virtue and righteousness are the qualities which exalt a nation, and that we

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Afghanistan, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 12 March, 1964

try to pursue them as much as possible in our daily lives and in our national endeavours. I am glad to know that we are attempting to do the same in both our countries.

You refer to the struggle which you are waging against ignorance, against illiteracy, against disease. These are problems which are common to us all, and we are trying to fight them to the best of our ability, and in so doing, it will be possible for us to learn from each other and acquire experience from each other. I have no doubt that you, during your stay here, will be able to see something of the attempts that we are making to build up our country in these particular matters.

You refer to your being peace-loving and non-aligned. That has been our goal, that has been our policy. So in attempting to build up a world which is free from the threat of war, we can work together.

May I request you to kindly convey to His Majesty the King our best wishes for his personal well-being and for the welfare and prosperity of the people of Afghanistan.

So far as you are concerned, you may rest assured that whatever is possible for us to do to help you to build up fraternal relations between our two countries which happily subsist already, in all these attempts you will find full co-operation from us.

We welcome you once again to our country.

INDIA AND LAOS

Mr Ambassador: we welcome you very heartily to our country as the representative of the Kingdom of Laos. We welcome you all the more because for years we have not had any Ambassador here representing your kingdom.

You passed through some difficulties, and now I hope you have reached a stable condition. I recall with satisfaction that we had some little thing to do with this development in your country's progress. I want you to communicate to your Sovereign our best wishes for his personal welfare and happiness and the progress and prosperity of his people. We are looking forward with great pleasure to his ensuing visit to our country.

So far as you are concerned, we will do all in our power to help you to strengthen the close ties which already exist between our two countries. Welcome again.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Laos, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 14 March, 1964

INDIA AND BOLIVIA

MR Ambassador : I accord to you a very hearty welcome on behalf of the people and the Government of India as the new Ambassador of the Republic of Bolivia.

I remember very vividly my visit to your State and the large meeting which was held at the Municipal Hall at La Paz when the "Key of the City" was presented to me.

I have been watching with interest the progress that you have been making. You have established a democratic Constitution with a double-chamber system and your attitude to democracy is one of commitment to hope for the future and to improvement of the human race.

We listened with much gratitude to the stand which you took recently in the Security Council when the Kashmir issue came up. Your attitude was one of friendliness and real understanding of the problems. A year earlier we had the trouble with China, and even then you stood up for us, and your President declared that so far as the China question was concerned, you stood with India, that your stand was an unambiguous one and that you would do everything in your power to give moral support to the Indian case. You yourself have suffered from invasions from outside. So you can understand what we passed through in those days. That is why we were greatly impressed by the attitude which you took on these questions.

So in international affairs, you are adopting exactly the same kind of policies : a kind of independence of all attitudes and blocs, peaceful co-existence of all nations, non-alignment in the strict sense of the term—these are the policies which you adopt and to which we are pledged. We, therefore, have so much in common that it will be possible for us to work together and develop friendly relations between our two countries.

May I request you to convey to your President our personal greetings and good wishes to him and concern for his well-being as also for the peace and prosperity of his people. So far as you are concerned, you may rest assured that we will do everything in our power to make your task easier in strengthening the relations between our countries which happily are friendly today.

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Bolivia, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 25 March, 1964

PEACEFUL AIMS OF INDIA AND IRAQ

Mr President: we are delighted to have you with us here for a few days. We are glad that you were able to accept our invitation to spend a short time with us.

It is said that throughout West Asia, since the end of the Second World War, things have been in a continuous ferment. In Iraq you have introduced stability and consolidation. It is our earnest hope that under your administration things will settle down and that people will grow prosperous.

We welcome you also as President of the Arab States' Summit Conference, a conference over which you presided this January at Cairo with great ability and skill. Your declaration that you will not resort to military force in facing the problems that confront you is something which gratifies us all. These questions ought to be decided by negotiated settlements and not by military force. If we debase others, we debase ourselves. If we hurt other people, we are ourselves hurt. It is an incomplete society in which we happen to live, and if this society is to be led to its proper fulfilment, we must all work together for peace, for co-existence and for mutual understanding. We welcome you in the hope that you will be able to see something of what we are doing and understand us; and we will understand you. We give you a very hearty welcome.

PROGRESS IN IRAQ

Mr President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen: may I convey to you, Mr President, and the members of your party, a cordial welcome on behalf of the people, the Government of India and of myself. I hope that you will have an interesting time in the few days you spend here.

Baghdad has been known to us for centuries. All great civilizations took their origin on river-banks—the Nile, the Ganges, the Tigris and the Euphrates. In the great days of Baghdad City, when there was an outburst of cultural activities, people from this country went to Baghdad—physicians, scholars, scientists—for advancing their knowledge. That connection which we established in matters of spirit and

Welcome to the President of Iraq, at Palam airport, New Delhi, 26 March, 1964

Speech at dinner in honour of the President of Iraq, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 26 March, 1964

culture still continues. The city itself means the abode of peace. It was built by Caliph Mansur. Peace is an ideal we aim at; it is not yet an achievement. Caliph Mansur pointed out to us what conditions we should observe if peace is to become a reality—wise leadership, honest administration, objective vision, welfare of the common people and tolerance for the views of others. These are the essential conditions for the achievement of peace. Many civilizations in this world have crashed because they did not comply with these conditions which make for peace. We ask for peace but we hesitate to implement the conditions which make for peace. Great civilizations in this world, on account of lack of probity, lack of honesty in administration, have come to trouble. It is our duty, therefore, to see to it that these essential conditions are preserved by us and that the people who are entrusted to our care get the essential conditions for peaceful living.

You, Mr President, in the few months of your administration there, have been doing your best to develop industrial progress, educational reform and social advancement. You have increased your budget allotments for education, health and social services. Your one idea seems to be that the people must become happy. Democracy is a commitment to hope, to the advancement of the human race, to the future development of human beings. That is what democracy really means; and if we are truly democratic, our one concern should be to preserve the natural resources, foster them, see to it that they are equitably distributed. These are the ideals which you are attempting to bring about in Iraq today.

The way in which you have attempted to deal with the problem of the Kurds gives us some hope that our problems will be settled satisfactorily.

You were there in Cairo as Head of the Summit Conference of the Arab States, and you made out in the final declarations of the Conference that resort to military force should be avoided if we want to live happily in this world. It is easy to say that. If we turn around, look at the different sides, the way in which we are scattering sorrow, horror, violence, bitterness in the name of race, religion or political ideology, these things make us ask : are we really behaving like human beings ? I heard a report of a will drawn up by a person in south India who made about four lakhs of rupees and willed it to the development of veterinary studies, suggesting that he had lost faith in human beings, but had still some hope in the animal world. It only means that we should not give up hope in human nature, that we should avoid this mood of defeatism, this mood of despair, which makes us think that things are bad and cannot be improved.

Democracy means a possibility of changing human nature. It has changed in the past and will change in years to come. There is no

doubt about it. If we look at the way in which the human race has progressed from the beginning of its history till today, we know that it has changed considerably, changed a number of times, will change again. That is the hope of the future, the hope of us all. We cannot think that religion, race and other things will continue as they are. In the name of religion, from the beginning of history, we have committed so many atrocities repugnant to the conscience of man. There can be something malignant in religion, something sinful, and people—saints and the great seers of wisdom—have taught us that if a religion asks us to hate, it is not religion. Unless it asks us to love one another since God is love, it is not true religion. Any religion which asks us to hate other human beings cannot be regarded as true religion. We have, again in the name of race, committed so many atrocities; national bigotry also demanded its victims. These are things which have come down to us and with which we have grown; these things will have to be modified and human nature can modify them. And our hope and your hope is that if peace is to be established in this world, these pernicious practices that have come to us in the name of hoary traditions will have to be altered. The world is still in its infancy; it has not even become adult. We are now proceeding to that phase. We should try to see to it that when we become adult, when we become truly civilized, we behave towards other human beings as human beings. We must free ourselves from prejudices before we can free other people. If we enslave other men, we are morally involved in that guilt. Unless we are able to develop that kind of consciousness, we cannot claim to be truly civilized.

It is a matter of great gratification to us that you, Mr President, are working for this kind of peace in this world. These are the hopes which we all entertain and I do think that with your co-operation and the goodwill of other people, we may be able to bring about a new world. That is what we strive for.

May I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the health of the President of Iraq, Field-Marshal Abdul Salam Mohammed Arif.

INDIA AND IRELAND

Mr Ambassador : I would like to welcome you most heartily as the first Ambassador of the Republic of Ireland to our country. You refer to the common struggle which we had to wage for attaining

Address on receiving Letters of Credence of the Ambassador of Ireland, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 14 April, 1964

independence. We passed through similar experiences—underground movements, imprisonments, ostracism—but now we have passed all that and attained freedom. The world is a much finer place to live in because many great figures who showed valour, patriotism, dedication and a devout attachment to their own native soil lived in it. In all these things we are proud that your country had such a big part to play.

You refer to the small size of your country. The greatness of a nation does not depend on the size of its population but on the contributions which it makes to the world at large. In recent times your country has produced great thinkers and writers like Bishop Berkeley, Edmund Burke and George Bernard Shaw—not to forget the latest of them all; they have done their best towards ennobling the world's heritage. In your President we see someone who symbolizes the past, the present and the future of Ireland. He passed through the valley of shadows. He struggled on and he is now the proud President of a proud people. So my heartiest congratulations. I hope that you will convey to him our best wishes for his personal well-being and our best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the people of Ireland.

You refer with legitimate pride to the fact that we both fought under the common United Nations Flag. It is a sign of the shape of things to come. As far as possible we should try to develop a common world community, a common flag and a world government. These are the preliminary steps we are taking for achieving that. From small beginnings, great things arise. Simply because today the United Nations flag has only a limited perspective, we need not despair. Our two countries are both working for the establishment of a world government under a common flag. The United Nations itself will have to be transformed, if that ideal is to be realized. I wish to assure you that in your attempts to develop cordial relations between our two countries you will have the best of co-operation and the greatest of sympathy from the people and the officials of the Government of India.

PREFACES TO BOOKS

LAST OF THE ANNAPURNAS

This is the story of the ascent for the first time of Annapurna III, one of the peaks of the Annapurna Himal, a peak towering 24,858 feet. Though not the highest of the peaks, its ascent needed to be freshly planned. The conception, the planning and execution of the ascent, revealed great courage, endurance, discipline and organization of the team. This achievement is one of which we can be proud.

The story told by the leader of the expedition, Shri M S. Kohli, shows the difficulties of the undertaking and the risks taken. The climbers were men drawn from different walks of life. The equipment used by the expedition was mostly Indian, and that is another welcome feature.

The spirit of youth is essential for all progress. Young men in other countries are using the earth as a footstool and reaching out to the moon and the stars. Our young men and women are capable of similar feats, if given proper training and encouragement. An ancient text, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* asks us to move on and not stand still or mark time :

āste bhaga āsīnasyordhvastiṣṭhati tiṣṭhataḥ
śete nipadyamānasya carāti carato bhagaḥ caraiveti caraiveti

> An idle man's fortune sits idle, too. When one rises and stands upright, his fortune also rises and stands up. As he lies down, his fortune lies down with him. He who marches along has his fortune marching with him. Hence, O pilgrim, move on, move on !

The story of the Annapurna expedition, told with touches of humour, is inspiring. and I hope that the book will be widely read, particularly by our youth.

26 September, 1962

WAR WITHOUT VIOLENCE

I first met Shri Krishnalal Shridharani many years ago in the United States of America. His one passion was to bring about a better understanding between the United States of America and India. He wrote a number of books on this subject. When he returned to India, he became a journalist and earned a reputation for his fidelity to facts and freshness of approach. He believed that there was no problem to which the human mind could not find a solution if only it applied itself calmly and dispassionately to the facts. He endeared himself to all whom he met. When he passed away, the press of India lost an eminent representative.

I hope this book *War Without Violence*, which contains a collection of his contributions, will bring back to us the memory of that vivid and friendly personality.

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

State participation in industry is an established feature of the State economy in many countries of the world. In India the administration of two of the biggest commercial undertakings, Railways and Posts and Telegraphs, has been traditionally under exclusive Government control, but Government has decided to establish exclusive control in certain key sectors of the industry since Independence. In some other sectors, both Government and private capital participate under equal conditions. Methods of control and procedures of business which are suited to the administration of Government departments may not be quite suited to the management of large industrial undertakings. The latter have special problems of their own. While profit-earning cannot be the sole measuring rod of the success of a Government undertaking, it cannot be ruled out. These and other problems which arise in the management and control of industrial undertakings by Government have received attention in other countries with longer experience of industrial management and control. Our experience in India is more limited and necessarily our thinking has also been limited.

Shri S. S. Khera's book is of interest not only to those who are connected with the control and management of Government undertakings but also to others who have longer experience in industrial management.

10 October, 1962

27 December, 1962

It will stimulate thought and discussion on a subject which has an important bearing on our country's development and progress. I hope that the book will be widely read.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

SHRI Prafulla Chandra Das has brought together in this book contributions from distinguished persons from India and abroad on Swami Vivekananda's remarkable personality. It is the good fortune of India that every time when there is great spiritual confusion, exponents of authentic religious thought spring up to recall the generations to the fundamental truths of Indian culture. Swami Vivekananda felt that religion was communion with the Divine, and anyone who has had spiritual experience admits that every human individual has the possibilities of rising to the Divine stature. Democracy becomes the natural result of authentic religious faith.

Swami Vivekananda found that in India while we recognized the great truths, in practice we deviated from them. So he called upon us to get back to the implementation of the fundamental truths. Spiritual realization and social service are the two sides of a religious attitude. Today if we wish to get rid of the quarrels dividing theological systems and abolish the artificial disabilities from which men suffer, the true nature of the religious attitude should be recognized and spread.

I hope this book will focus our attention on this great need of our age.

RĀMĀYAṆA KATHĀ

THIS book, *Rāmāyaṇa Kathā,* by Shri Raghunath Singh, Member of Parliament, will give our youth an idea about the fundamentals of our culture. At a time when great stress is properly laid in our schools and colleges on the study of sciences, pure and applied, we should not overlook the significance of a study of our ancient classics.

All great thinkers ask us to know the self—*ātmānaṁ viddhi.* The

7 February, 1963

15 February, 1963

classics are the chief means by which man learns about himself, his achievements and his failures, his powers and his limitations.

Indians are natural catholics, not in the religious but in the larger sense of being hospitable to other views and doctrines. They believe that religion consists in the vision of the Supreme and that it is transmitted by the impact of personality and not by the imparting of information. We must behold the truth and we become what we behold. If, in spite of the practice of religions all these centuries, we still live in a nightmare world it is because we do not realize sufficiently that religion consists in the remaking of the self, in the refashioning of our nature and not in the repetition of hymns or observance of ceremonies. A strict discipline which integrates our nature is the demand of our age.

The forces which push men into conflicts are very deep-rooted and have characterized mankind throughout its existence. We should control these forces and subject them to discipline. Feelings and emotions are there in human nature breeding hatred and passions that have corrupted human life throughout history and do so still. On the other hand, there are in human nature cravings for beauty, moral aspirations, reverence for something greater than everything in the universe. These creative impulses give warmth and colour to life's fabric, its richness, fullness and diversity. But suddenly an impulse overtakes us and the higher impulses are suppressed and the more primitive ones come to the surface.

It is enough for the great teachers to proclaim the truth. It is for ordinary men to see the truth and apply it to their collective behaviour. It is the only way in which we can raise the quality of our public judgment and conduct.

The *Rāmāyaṇa Kathā* recalls to our mind the perpetual conflict in human nature, the *devāsura yuddha.* God and man are not separate from each other. The two are one substance made into two, *sattvaṁ ekaṁ dvidhā kṛtaṁ.*

In this book which is written with great lucidity, the lessons of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are brought out in a way which appeals to the general reader. Several characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are delineated with sympathy and several stories are described in a persuasive way in this book. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is literature which makes for fellowship and reconciliation. It helps us to treat human beings with understanding and generosity. It sets forth the conscience of our people. Its lessons are of permanent value.

THE EDUCATION OF THE WHOLE MAN

In this book, *The Education of the Whole Man,* the well-known educator of the United States, Mr Ralph Borsodi, has asked us to take a fresh look at the problems of education. All systems of education aim at the education of the whole man, though in practice they lay undue emphasis on physical efficiency or intellectual alertness or spiritual poise. These are not exclusive of each other. They are essential ingredients of a true system of education. A Upaniṣad tells us that we should aim at the play of life, *prāṇārāmaṁ,* the satisfaction of mind, *mana ānandaṁ,* and the fullness of tranquillity, *śānti samṛddham.* The sickness of our society can be traced to one-sided development of education.

All knowledge is indivisible. Science and technology, literature and art, philosophy and religion are varied manifestations of the spirit of man. They do not contradict one another but complement one another. The spirit in man sits in judgment on nature, discovers its secrets and increases our knowledge of nature. In art and literature the same spirit deals with the moods and passions, the intense experience of the human individual, especially his inner being. The same spirit probes into the mystery of the world, tries to understand a little of it. Science and technology are a dialogue of the human spirit with nature. Literature and art are a dialogue of the spirit with oneself. Philosophy and religion are a dialogue of the spirit with the supreme mystery which underlies the universe. When people speak of a conflict between science and religion, they do not appreciate the spiritual character of science and the rational character of religion. When properly understood, science and religion help each other.

In the name of science and rationalism many of our societies have broken off their connection with past tradition. Their lives have become rootless. We have to grow our roots again. We have to combine ancient tradition with modern knowledge. If we wish to have an open society, we should have open minds.

The human being, through a balanced education, should become a work of art capable of quality and beauty of its own apart from any practical purpose to which his skills and powers are put.

The development of the human individual makes for the uniqueness of the individual. This uniqueness contributes to the fellowship of human beings. It leads one to the creative realization of the unity of mankind. There is no contradiction between seeing the truth in solitude and engaging in human affairs.

We are grateful to the Sardar Vallabhbhai Vidyapeeth for the publication of this important book.

24 February, 1963

THE CREED OF SAINT VINOBA

ACHARYA Vinoba Bhave is a remarkable personality. Stepped in the learning and traditions of ancient India, he has not contented himself with a secluded or cloistered life cut off from the world. Indeed, his life represents a harmonious blend of learning, spiritual perception and compassion for the lowly and the lost. He sees no dichotomy between an inner spiritual life and continuous and devoted work in the cause of the needy. He adopts *jñāna karma samuccayaḥ:* knowledge and action go together. He has continued his one-man mission, walking through the villages of India for more than twelve years, asking lands from those who have for those who have not. For, after all, more than 70 per cent of the people of India live in villages and an equitable social order is possible only if the millions living in villages have the feeling that in an independent India the good things of life are not meant only for those who live in towns or for those, who by accident of birth or family connection, happen to have control over large areas of land. This is an appeal to conscience, a non-violent method of bringing about revolutionary changes in the social and economic fields. It is not difficult to see that if non-violent methods fail in effecting the necessary changes, violence will not wait indefinitely.

Vinoba Bhave describes himself as a servant of the people. His present mission is the result of an intense soul-search over a long period of years. As a young man of 20, when he was a college student, he parted with his friends who were proceeding to Bombay for the University examination, by reciting the first aphorism of the *Brahma Sūtras:* "Here begins my quest for Brahman" : *athāto brahma-Jijñāsā.* This quest led him to Banaras and his first meeting with Gandhiji in that holy city. Contact with Mahatmaji wrought deep changes, ethical and spiritual, in Vinoba's life. He was a true and devoted follower of that great man and had implicit faith in his teaching. When Mahatmaji passed away, Vinoba continued to preach and practise his ideals. "Bhoodan" movement was a natural result of that faith. Like his great master, Vinoba is unmoved by praise or ridicule. In a sense his movement is a protest against the excessive preoccupation of the age with an urban civilization. Deeply read in the ancient religious literature of India, Vinoba not only preaches but practises a life as it ought to be lived according to the teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā.* We are fortunate that in an age when the old virtues are at a discount we have amongst us this great soul who is calling us to action for the sake of the suffering millions of India.

Vasant Nargolkar has done a service to the country by presenting this careful analysis of Vinoba's life story and his philosophy.

5 July, 1963

EAST AND WEST IN RELIGION

THE greatest event of our age is the physical unification of the world. Apart from this, political arrangements, economic alliances, and rapid circulation of intellectual concepts and beliefs through the media of mass communication are bringing about a psychological coherence. If the physical unification and the intellectual kinship promoted by these factors are to be sustained, it is essential that there should be a moral and spiritual harmony also. This book is an attempt to study the moral values and the spiritual insights which are held in common by the people of the world, whether they belong to the East or to the West, and a study of these will contribute not only to the intellectual but the moral and spiritual solidarity of the world.

It is my earnest hope that this book, *East and West in Religion*, now brought out in Persian, will help towards this end.

THE NEW LEADERS OF ASIA

THE most prominent feature of our age is perhaps the emergence of Asia and Africa into the world stage. Many nations in these two continents, who suffered till recently subjection to colonial rule, have gained independence, and a few who are struggling for independence will soon achieve it. Thus the newly independent nations have been for centuries representatives of great cultures—cultures which emphasize inward vigilance and outward efficiency. These ideals have not been implemented in daily life and national behaviour. Today, on account of the meeting of varied cultures and civilizations a new world based on community of ideals and purposes is emerging.

Professor Rolf Italiaander, with his passion for humanity, has a sympathetic understanding of the past and the present of these new nations and is aware of the future possibilities. This book, *The New Leaders of Asia,* will give us an excellent guide to the understanding of the thought—religious, ethical and political—of the new nations of Asia and Africa.

23 September, 1963

27 October, 1963

THE city of Calcutta has produced many men of genius in education, science, literature and spiritual endeavour, and one of the greatest of them all is Swami Vivekananda. He embodied the spirit of this country. He was a symbol of her spiritual aspirations and fulfilment. It is that spirit which was expressed in the songs of our devotees, the philosophies of our seers, the prayers of our common people. He gave articulation and voice to that eternal spirit of India.

Reality is something to be felt, to be realized, to be experienced. That is the lesson of India. India never counted on dogmas, doctrines, etc. They were instruments, they were the means for the purpose of realizing the highest truth.

When once you recognize that the Reality is something to be felt, something to be experienced, you do not attach so much importance to the ways by which you attain it. They become subordinate. They become instrumental. And in that great utterance of his in September 1893 in the Chicago "Parliament of Religions" what he said was that there is a God above all gods, that there is a religion above all religions, that there is something which supersedes all our religiosities, all our pieties, rituals, dogmas, doctrines, etc., and that is the religion on the basis of which the whole world, East and West, could be united.

As in the life of the Buddha, there was in the life of Swami Vivekananda a moment when he thought that he should lose himself in the delights of inner life, in the delights of contemplation and not get back into the world. But Ramakrishna told him : "Shame on you ! Why are you trying so much to seek your own personal salvation ?" *Śivam ātmani paśyanti na pratimāsu,* the Supreme is in every human being. All human beings are to be regarded as embodiments of the Supreme. We should realize that the name given to him, Narendra Nath, was not a mere accident. He was the embodiment of *nara,* of the human being. *Nārāyaṇam narasakhaṁ śaranaṁ prapadye; narasakha* is *Nārāyaṇa.* He felt the pangs of all human beings, and he wanted that every human being should live a decent life. Most of us exist, but do not live. He wanted every one of us to acquire strength, beauty, power, dignity and be a truly human being. We are not that. He looked at the misery of our country. He looked at the millions who died of poverty and hunger, and he said : I am the worshipper of *Daridranārāyaṇa,* of the *Nārāyaṇa* who is located in all the poor people of this world. So long as they are there, how can I content myself with my own salvation or with my own beatitude ? It is my duty to look after them all. The best way to reach God is by the service of man.

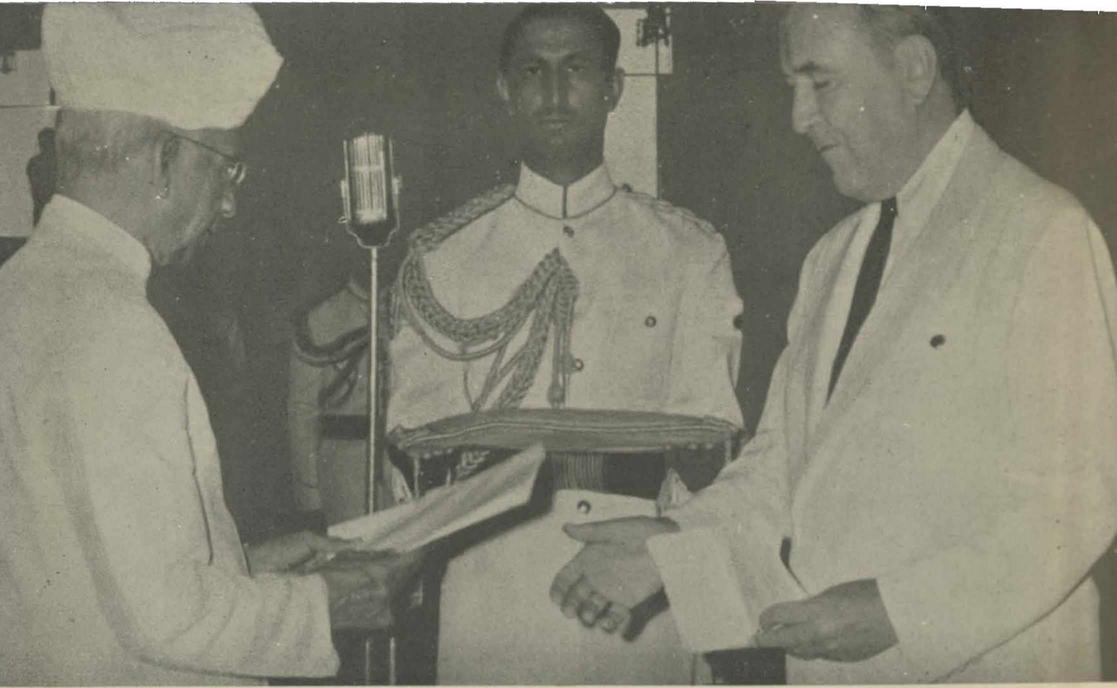
25 November, 1963



Receiving credentials from the Ambassador-designate of Iran, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 2 May, 1963

At Kabul University, Afghanistan, 14 May, 1963





Receiving credentials from the Ambassador-designate of the United States of America, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 19 July, 1963



With the King and Queen of Nepal on their arrival at Palam airport, New Delhi, 27 August, 1963

He inculcated a religion of patriotism, not patriotism in the narrow sense of the word, patriotism as the religion of humanity. His was a religion which called upon us to look upon all human beings as kindred, as belonging to one family. That is the kind of religion which he taught us and which he adopted. He said, "It is a man-making religion." It is a humanistic religion. There is no divorce between contemplative life and social service. The two things are expressions of one and the same kind of phenomenon. If we have reached the Supreme and felt the reality of God in our own minds and thoughts, it would be our duty to come to the rescue of all people who are suffering in this world.

We are today at a critical period not merely in the history of our country but in the history of the world. There are many people who think we are on the edge of an abyss. There is distortion of values, there is lowering of standards, there is widespread escapism, a good deal of mass hysteria, and people think of it and collapse in despair, frustration, hopelessness. These are the only things which are open to us. Such a kind of lack of faith in the spirit of man is a treason to the dignity of man. It is an insult to human nature. It is human nature that has brought about all the great changes that have taken place in this world. And if there is any call which Vivekananda made to us, it is to rely on our own spiritual resources. Man has inexhaustible spiritual resources. His spirit is supreme, man is unique. There is nothing inevitable in this world, and we can ward off the worst dangers and worst disabilities with which we are faced. Only we should not lose hope. He gave us fortitude in suffering, he gave us hope in distress, he gave us courage in despair. He told us : do not be led away by appearances. Deep down there is providential will, there is a purpose in this universe. You must try to co-operate with that purpose and try to achieve it. Renunciation, courage, service, discipline—these are the lessons which we can learn from his life.

It is essential, therefore, that we should remember what this great soul stood for, what he taught us. It is not merely a question of remembering it but trying to understand what he wished us to do. We should assimilate his teachings, incorporate them in our being and make ourselves worthy to be citizens of the country which produced Vivekananda.

This volume which deals with the various aspects of his life and teachings, and to which I have great pleasure in writing this Foreword, will, I hope, go a great way to achieve these ends.

ESSENTIAL UNITY OF ALL RELIGIONS

I HAD known the late Dr Bhagvan Das for a number of years. We were in frequent correspondence for some years and we used to meet often after I took up the Vice-Chancellorship of the Banaras Hindu University. His works were both critical and creative. He laid the greatest stress on the fundamentals of Indian thought and their relevance to social developments. He was critical naturally of the many practices which injured Hindu society, and showed us a way out. He believed in the *sanātana dharma,* the eternal truth of Hindu religion and philosophy. Man fulfils himself when he has a direct encounter with the Supreme Reality. This can be achieved by spiritual exercises, prayer, meditation, etc. When once we reach this realization, we find that the names we give to the Divine and the approaches we adopt in reaching the Divine are of an instrumental character. They are to be judged by their capacity to help us to reach the goal of God-realization. They are not to be treated as final and absolute. They are relative because the human mind is not capable of expressing in logical propositions or linguistic symbols the immensity and the majesty of the Supreme.

The Upaniṣad says :

yato vāco nivartante, aprāpya manasā saha,
ānandaṁ brahmaṇo vidvān, na bibheti kadācana

The same spirit the Buddha is reported to have expressed :

anakṣarasya dharmasya śrutiḥ kā deśanā ca kā.

The *Gītā* tells us : "In whatsoever form man approaches Me, in that same form I accept him."

Saṁkarācārya is said to be the *ṣaṇmata sthāpanācārya.* It is the same spirit which we find to guide us in Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Tagore and Gandhiji. India, therefore, is not a mere archaeological exhibit, a museum piece; it is a living spirit which still has value in the contemporary world. Dr Bhagvan Das showed the basic unity of all religions by quotations from different scriptures. His book, therefore, is of great value to the modern educated men and women.

As for the social rules and regulations, he believed in *varṇāśrama-dharma* but he was also aware that it was being abused. Privilege is not conferred by birth but by character. One who claims privilege without developing the qualities, say of brāhmaṇahood is only a brāhmana by

18 December, 1963

birth, *jātiḥ brāhmaṇa eva saḥ*. *Vēṇī Saṁhāra* tells us that our birth is not due to us, but success as a man is in our control :

sūtō vā sūta-putrō vā yo vā ko vā
bhavāmyahaṁ
daivāyattaṁ kule janma, madāyattaṁ
hi pauruṣaṁ

The late Dr Bhagvan Das was a spiritual and social reformer. His writings *Essential Unity of All Religions* are of relevance to our modern age. They deserve to be widely read.

MESSAGES

DR B. C. ROY

FRIENDS : on behalf of the people of India and on my own behalf, I express my profound sorrow at the sudden death of Dr B. C. Roy. In a few minutes his mortal remains will be reduced to ashes. We will miss his stately presence, his healing touch, his cheering voice, but he has left behind an example of dedicated service, service to which he brought his very great gifts. Every institution in this city and in West Bengal and in other places, bears the touch of his personality. While the body perishes, the soul does not :

dehino 'smin yathā dehe kaumāraṁ yauvanaṁ jarā
tathā dehāntaraprāptir dhīras tatra na muhyati

He has left behind many unfinished tasks. It should be our endeavour to carry them out and accomplish them.

As his name indicates, he belonged to *"nava vidhāna."* He was called Bidhan as he was born on the day that Keshub Chandra Sen proclaimed his new "dispensation." It respects all religions and looks upon the varied names we give to God as referring to the One Supreme :

yaṁ śaivāssamupāsate śiva iti brahmeti vedāntinaḥ
bauddhāḥ buddha iti pramāṇa paṭavaḥ karteti naiyāyikāḥ
arhannityatha jaina-śāsanaratāḥ karmeti mīmāṁsakāḥ
so'yaṁ vo vidadhātu vāñchita phalaṁ trailokya-nātho hariḥ

In all humility, we commend his soul to the Supreme.

DISARMAMENT DAY

THE Delhi Citizens Committee is observing Disarmament Day on 2 October, 1962. In spite of two world wars, the most devastating in history, and each of them having as its objective the end of war between nations, the world is still swaying perilously on the edge of a disaster which may be even more terrible than on previous occasions. Vast sums are being spent in a race of increasing armament while hunger and malnutrition stalk the world. While tension has shown signs of

Message on the death of Dr B. C. Roy, 1 July, 1962

Message for Delhi Citizens Committee on Disarmament Day, 2 October, 1962

mounting rather than subsiding, the Conference on Disarmament seems to take a leisurely course. The expression of public opinion by the observance of Disarmament Day will be a contribution, however small, to the efforts of far-seeing statesmen, philosophers and scientists to prevent a catastrophe.

THE COW IN INDIAN ECONOMY

FRIENDS : I am happy to address you today on the occasion of the Gosamvardhana Week, which will be observed throughout the country from tomorrow, the 29th of October, under the auspices of the Central Council of Gosamvardhana, the State Departments of Animal Husbandry, and various non-official organizations interested in cattle protection and development. The theme of the celebration is "Quality, the base of Prosperity."

The annual festivals of Gosamvardhana and Gopāṣṭami have been observed by our people for many centuries. These festivals demonstrate the great importance that we attach to cattle in the daily life of our people. In spite of technological advances, cattle in our country continue to be the major source of supply of the motive power required for agricultural operations and rural transport. They also supply milk for the nutrition needs of our people.

The importance of the cow and her progeny is brought out in many ways in our ancient scriptures. The devotion of Kṛṣṇa to the cow, the association of Nandi with Śiva, and of Kāmadhenu, the giver of all, with Indra, not only signify the close association of cattle with the welfare of our people but also enjoin on us the duty to protect our cattle wealth, particularly during natural calamities like famines and floods.

There is a great deal of sentiment for the cow; but in our daily life the welfare of the cow has been sadly neglected. There is a tendency among our people to maintain large numbers of cattle and to take pride in them, but adequate attention is not paid to their being properly fed and cared for. .The result has been that the average productivity of the cow has remained low. In the changing economy of the country, there is increasing need for more productive cattle for both milk and draught.

Aware of the importance of cattle in the economy of the country, the Planning Commission and the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have shown great anxiety for the development of cattle

Message on the Gosamvardhana Week, 28 October, 1962

and dairying; and programmes in the Third Five Year Plan in these spheres have been greatly expanded.

Our Government is a people's Government and it is constantly striving to enlist the active participation of the people in all its programmes. It is, therefore, a happy sign that the Central Council of Gosamvardhana, which has been entrusted with the responsibility of the development of cattle in the country, has brought within its fold officials, non-officials and scientific experts to work as a team with one goal in view. Similar organizations in the form of State Councils of Gosamvardhana are being set up in the various States.

There is a large scope for non-official organizations supplementing the efforts made by the governmental agencies for cattle and dairy development in the country. Special mention may be made of the traditional institutions of *gaushalas* and *pinjrapoles* spread all over the country which, I think, have to play an increasingly important role in the field of protection and development of cattle. The *gaushalas* and *pinjrapoles,* as voluntary public bodies, have the advantage of being in direct contact with the people. With the advancement of science and the spread of education in the country, our people are becoming increasingly conscious of the need to apply improved methods in all fields of development. The *gaushalas,* which are reorienting their outlook on scientific lines, can carry the message of scientific development of cattle to the general public. Schemes for the development and reorganization of *gaushalas* and *pinjrapoles* as cattle-breeding-*cum*-milk-production centres have been included in the Third Five Year Plan, and it is noteworthy that these institutions are availing themselves increasingly of the assistance provided under various schemes.

The representative institutions of Zila Parishads and Gram Panchayats have necessarily to play an important role in the development of village economy. I am hopeful that these Parishads and Panchayats will devote their attention to the problems of cattle development as well as agricultural and rural prosperity.

The Gosamvardhana Week is now being celebrated with an emphasis on the economic development of the cow and its progeny. This clearly indicates the new urge among our people to improve the productivity of their cattle. This will necessarily entail hard and persevering work over a number of years. I take this opportunity of appealing to our countrymen to devote adequate attention to the problems of proper breeding, feeding and management of their cattle and thus make the Gosamvardhana celebrations purposeful.

CHILDREN AND THE FUTURE

FRIENDS : the fourteenth of November, which is our Prime Minister's birthday, is celebrated every year as the Children's Day. Children's minds and hearts are moulded by the ideals they cherish. It is essential for them to have what is called a vision of greatness. We become what we behold. Greatness, as we view it, is not the result of the power of intellect or wide learning. It cannot be attained by the weak in spirit. It is essentially the outcome of self-discipline.

nāyamātmā balahīnena labhyaḥ
na medhayā na bahunā śrutena

Only by *tyāga,* self-denial, can we attain our goal. Nehru's whole life is distinguished by his devotion to peace, passion for freedom and boundless love and concern for children's welfare. Today he is engaged in disciplining the nation's enthusiasm and energy for the defence of our freedom and territorial integrity. His freedom from prejudice, from any trace of fanaticism and his universality of spirit should be imbibed by our children. Deep in our nature there is reverence for life and this quality should be strengthened by the training we give our children. They should develop respect for human dignity, decency and freedom. Whatever difficulties we may encounter, these ideals should be preserved.

All these years we have been engaged in obtaining for our children a higher and better future. We wish to give protection to the unprotected, and to care for the poor who cannot help themselves. Democracy means that the weakest in the land should be provided with the opportunities for self-development. We should not overlook the extent to which the scales are loaded against many children, the deaf, the dumb, the blind and the other handicapped. There are no wicked children; there are only unfortunate children, unhappy children, and we should do our best to help them by providing them with facilities for the improvement of their physical and mental health. We live today in a society which is democratic and competitive, where the position of a person is determined by striving, not by status, and by work done, not by inheritance and privilege. Position now has to be achieved as a prize in a competitive struggle. It is our aim to build an opportunity State, where careers are open to talent, character and capacity, irrespective of all other considerations.

The Indian Council of Child Welfare is doing its best and I hope that its activities will not be impeded much by our present emergency.

Broadcast message on the eve of Children's Day, 13 November, 1962

FAREWELL TO IRAN

FRIENDS : tomorrow I leave your interesting country on my way home. I have been with you for only five days. But these five days have been a great experience for me. I am touched by the heart-warming and affectionate welcome that you have extended to me from the time I arrived till now. My visit has been a powerful reminder to me of the age-old ties between our two countries. We have a common heritage of culture and civilization. Through the centuries this has been renewed and reinforced by close contact and by exchange of thoughts and ideas.

Both you in Iran and we in India are proud of our past, but neither you nor we can afford to live in the past. The problems of today have to be faced with boldness and vigour if we are to be worthy of the noble past. We have to take the fullest advantage of the opportunities which science and technology have brought within our reach, and use them for the benefits of the common man. I am happy to see that His Imperial Majesty and his Government are tackling the problems of today with determination. In this field our two countries can learn from each other's experience. And neither you nor we have the slightest wish to interfere in other people's affairs. Our only desire is to live our own lives in peace and freedom in our own way, without interference from others. On behalf of myself and the members of my party, I thank His Imperial Majesty and his Government and the people of Iran for their kindness, courtesy and hospitality to us. My best wishes to you all.

A SENSE OF BROTHERHOOD

FRIENDS : before I leave this country I would like to say a few words of thanks and good wishes to the British people.

Her Majesty the Queen made excellent arrangements for us and looked to the smallest details of our visit. We are grateful to her and the other members of the Royal Family and the Prime Minister and the members of the Government who were so kind and considerate to us throughout our stay.

We were welcomed to Buckingham Palace, Holyrood House in Edinburgh, and Windsor Castle. We were able to see some of your

Broadcast Message, Radio Iran, 20 May, 1963

Message for the British Broadcasting Corporation, 22 June, 1963

great scientific institutions, including a power station, the radio-telescope and the nuclear power station at Berkeley.

We were greatly impressed by the ability and the spirit of devotion among your workers there.

Our students are found in large numbers in different universities and we were able to meet some of them. They have come here to acquire technical knowledge and skill which is not easily available in our country. They have better opportunities and therefore, we expect them, when they come back to our country, to be of service to our people in raising their living standards. In a parliamentary democracy we are obliged to raise the living standards of our people and make every effort for a freer, fuller and richer life. In this great task of modernization we have received considerable assistance from the British people, particularly through the training which British institutions are giving to our young men and women.

I hope that when they get back they will work with a sense of humility and a sense of purpose. Life is, after all, not a merry-go-round. We have no right to be happy. We have a right to be true to ourselves and be of some service to humanity.

The story of Indo-British relations has been one of patience and determined effort on the part of the Indian people and sympathetic understanding by the British. Not that it was all smooth sailing; for we have had our periods of stresses and strains but ultimately we reached our goal. We achieved our independence and willingly agreed to be a member of the Commonwealth. Our relations today are based on mutual respect, a sense of brotherhood and consideration for each other's well-being.

I shall like to thank everyone who has been of assistance to us in this country and for the many acts of kindness shown to us, and we carry with us very many recollections of our visit to this country and I wish the British people well in the future.

FAREWELL TO BRITAIN

As I leave for home on the conclusion of my visit to your friendly country, I should like to express to Your Majesty my deep appreciation of your wonderful and very generous hospitality, and of the kindness and courtesy which I received from the Government and the people of Britain.

Message, 23 June, 1963

The very interesting programme which was drawn up for me with so much care and attention to detail has enabled me to see some of your ancient customs and traditions and also your modern achievements. I was also happy to meet the Duke of Edinburgh, the Queen Mother, your children, and other members of the Royal Family.

I have no doubt that the friendship between our two countries will continue to grow stronger in the years to come. Best wishes to you all.

UNITED NATIONS DAY

FRIENDS : on the eve of the 18th United Nations Day, may I say a few words. With every year the activities and usefulness of the United Nations Organization are becoming more and more evident. In recent times, in the solution of the problems of Cuba, West Irian and Congo, the Organization played a useful role. Its work has been somewhat hampered by the pressures and passions of the cold war. Yet it remains the only hope of effective international co-operation for world peace.

At no time in human history has the possibility of world peace and welfare been so great as at present. Science and technology have released sources of power capable of remaking the world. We can now achieve ways of life under law and order that will usher in a golden era. The resources—human and material—for the achievement of this goal are today available to us. On the other hand, the potential for total destruction of human civilization is equally great. In a nuclear war there will be neither victors nor vanquished. Both of them will perish together. A war in such circumstances is sheer madness. If we oppose nuclear wars, we should oppose all wars, for a war with classified or conventional weapons is likely to become a nuclear war. There is no such thing as a just war. If we wish to avoid wars we will have to work for peace. The only defence against war is peace. I am certain that a total ban on nuclear tests will soon be adopted by all countries and prepare the way for general and complete disarmament.

The essential conditions for a stable world order and peace are freedom from colonial domination, the rooting out of race discrimination and the economic development of under-privileged nations.

The United Nations must set up a machinery by which subject nations are led to become independent by peaceful means. It has been

Broadcast message for United Nations Day, New Delhi, 23 October, 1963

doing good work in this direction. It has been helping nations to resist tyranny, exploitation, domination of one nation by another. There are still in Africa many parts under colonial rule.

Race prejudices are to be found in almost all countries of the world, but while many nations are ashamed of them, some exalt them and make them into the law of the land. In South Africa, law discriminates against the whole population on account of the colour of skin or racial origin. While other nations are apologetic about the vestiges of race discrimination which they are attempting to remove, South Africa is aggressive in its attitude. Its policy of *apartheid,* or strict racial segregation, has met with opposition within and without. The suppressed Africans are becoming desperate. Desperate men resort to desperate remedies. The South African Government should reconsider its policy, if it is to avoid a general upheaval. What seems to be somewhat remote from the present age is the conflict between the Catholics and the Buddhists in South Vietnam. The harassment of the large majority of the population in South Vietnam is a violation of fundamental human rights, and will, I hope, be terminated soon.

The world must assume the responsibility for poverty, hunger and disease which prevail in many parts. So long as there are impoverished and hungry nations, there will always be a temptation to violent upheavals. We should, therefore, strive to strengthen the United Nations and its specialized agencies which are engaged in this task of improving the human conditions in large parts of the world. A world which is suffering and miserable should be made to thrill with hope and joy.

There is a fundamental historical trend in the development of modern society and a general desire to understand other people and live with them in friendship. With increasing facilities for communications there is greater understanding between the peoples of the world. We have relaxed relations between the two great nuclear powers, the USSR and the USA. They are also co-operating in space research and the exploration of the moon. The new hot-line link established between Moscow and Washington is intended to safeguard the world against any human accident or miscalculation. There is also an understanding between the Roman Catholic Church and communism which were regarded as hostile to each other. All these are signs of the eagerness of the people to live together in peace and harmony. A trend in the opposite direction is the Sino-Soviet rift, which evidently started with the Soviet Union's refusal to supply nuclear arms to China. Despite periods of aggressive expansionism, China, by and large, has been devoted to peace and friendship among nations though she is now suffering from a black-out of her loyalty to world peace and harmony. We earnestly hope that the present mood of China is a temporary one.

The greatest challenge man faces today is man himself. The Chinese

philosopher Lao-Tzu said, "All is clear. I alone am clouded." When our knowledge is increased, our behaviour has to become worthy of our knowledge. For this a mere understanding of human nature is not enough. An increase in moral sensitivity is called for. Humanity is not a mere organization but a living organism united from within by those spiritual values which are inseparable from man's dignity and freedom.

eko devaḥ sarvabhūteṣu gūḍhaḥ
sarvavyāpī sarvabhūtāntarātmā

There is one God, hidden in all things, all-pervading, the inner Soul of all things. We tear asunder this invisible bond and break the body of humanity if we use violence against one another. May we be given the courage and the wisdom, the love and the faith to mould the new world !

We should do our utmost to strengthen this Organization and make it an instrument of authority and power in the affairs of the world. We would like to see the United Nations Organization with legislative, executive and police functions, as it is the only way in which we can save future generations from the scourge of war. This ambition is not to be treated as a distant dream. It is an urgent necessity. Let us all work for it.

FAREWELL TO NEPAL

FRIENDS : tomorrow morning I shall leave your friendly country after four days' very pleasant stay here. This has been a memorable experience to me. I am touched by the cordiality of your welcome and the warmth of your affection. From His Majesty down to the humblest citizen of Nepal, each one of you made me and the members of my party feel that we are members of one family, one fraternity. I thank you for your generosity and kindness.

This is not my first visit to your country. I was here six years ago. I am highly impressed by the progress made by your country during the past six years : schools have been built, communications are being opened up, dams have been constructed and much has been done in the field of art and culture. No visitor can leave Nepal without being struck by the vitality, progress and optimism of its people. I am particularly happy to know that under the wise leadership of His

Message on conclusion of visit to Nepal, Nepal Radio, Kathmandu, 7 November, 1963

Majesty far-reaching social reforms have been introduced. Polygamy is banned, for example.

Faith and courage are needed for introducing reforms of this kind and it is His Majesty's faith in his people and their trust in him that have made it possible to initiate social reforms of this far-reaching character. They are essential, of course. We cannot build a progressive and forward-looking society on foundations which are based on a different concept of life and its requirements. In Nepal as in India, we have to make a clean sweep of some of the rubble which has gathered through the ages in our social fabric, if we have to build up a new order. I am happy to find that a good beginning has been made in your country.

For social and economic progress, we in the under-developed countries want peace. You in Nepal and we in India pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all countries. For centuries our people have remained neglected. They have not had the minimum of those things which make life worth living. We face this problem in India. We can, therefore, appreciate your policy and programme.

Facts of history and geography impose the obligation on our two countries to co-operate with each other. Such co-operation between two independent and sovereign countries, and particularly between two countries whose people have so many things in common, is not only in the interests of both the countries but is also an important contributory factor in the maintenance of peace in this part of the world.

I am most grateful to His Majesty for the opportunity that he has given me to see his country and to have a first-hand impression of the progress and development which it is making. I appreciate the kindness and consideration shown to me by His Majesty and the people of Nepal. I bring you a message of friendship and goodwill from the Government and people of India. Good-bye and good luck to you all. *Jai Nepal! Jai Bharat!*

INHERITORS OF A GREAT VISION

I AM happy to say a few words on AIR to the children of our country on the eve of the Children's Day—the day of the year we have marked specially to remind us of the importance of children in our national life and of our obligations to them.

The way in which we develop the physical, mental and moral quali-

Message broadcast on the eve of Children's Day, New Delhi, 13 November, 1963

ties of our children will determine the pattern of our nation's future. Our children are the proud inheritors of a great cultural heritage; and in their education and training they should be taught to recognize the qualities of tolerance and universal love that this country has stood for down the ages. They should also realize the importance of national unity and integration, the sense of belonging to one country and to one another. Through art and story, through song and dance, which children love, the great ideals are imperceptibly absorbed by them. Deep in our hearts there is reverence for life, and it is this aspect that we should stress in the education of children. We are born to live and love one another and not hate and destroy others.

Our children are fortunate to be able to witness the transformation of this ancient land into a modern community. A reading of our history tells us that it was when we were a disciplined and united people and true to our traditions that this country was great. It was when we departed from these principles that we were subjected to external aggression and internal confusion. A country is great only when its people are great. Reading the lives of our great leaders in the past, children should develop a vision of greatness. They become what they behold. It is a happy coincidence that the Children's Day falls on the birthday of one who has done more than any other to emphasize the great potential that the children of our country constitute, and who represents qualities which the children of this country would do well to attempt to imbibe—one who was described by Mr Churchill, if I remember right, as "a man without hate, a man without fear." It is our earnest wish that he may be spared for many years to guide our country and the world.

MISCELLANEOUS

AN EXAMPLE TO OTHERS

FRIENDS : I am happy to be with you here today and receive your greetings. The work assigned to me has become much simpler by the fact that my illustrious predecessor has knit you all into a single family or fellowship. In other words, in serving a great cause, all people, whatever may be their contribution, are bound by the cause that transcends their particular interests. When putting up a building both the man who breaks stones and the master-builder have some contribution to make towards the construction of the building. In the same way, in building a great country everyone has to make his own particular contribution for which he is specifically endowed.

The office of Rashtrapati here must be an example to other offices in what may be regarded as clean and efficient administration. So many complaints we receive nowadays of nepotism, favouritism, discrimination and things like that, and we should try to the best of our ability not to give room for such complaints. It is only then that we can set an example to other people. If we are ourselves lost in darkness, corruption, we cannot shed light on others, we will not be in a position to tell others that they must behave in a better and more decent way. If water chokes, there is nothing that we can drink. This office must be an example and you may be sure that, so far as I am concerned, it shall be my endeavour to look after the interests of each one of you and try to do my very best to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people who are members of this office.

Humility must be the paramount characteristic. Chances, circumstances place us all in different positions and by that we should not be misled. There is a famous Sanskrit verse which says, "There are people who have the conceit of learning, others have the conceit of wealth, others have the conceit that they are born in a great family. Learning, wealth and good birth are a source of conceit to the uncultured. To the cultured they are the means for the exercise of self-control."

vidyā mado dhana mado abhijāta madastathā
madā ime 'valipatānāṁ taeva mahatāṁ damaḥ

Mada must become *dama*. Conceit must be transformed into discipline and self-control. Each one of us in doing his or her work must look upon it as a sacred task. Other things will be forgotten : the wealth you pile up, the career you make for yourself, all this will, say in fifty years, be forgotten altogether. But if you have the satisfaction that in your day the task assigned to you was done by you with devotion and

Reply to the greetings of the Rashtrapati Bhavan staff, New Delhi, 23 May, 1962

dedication and that you had some idea of the sanctity of the work in which you were engaged, that is the one thing that will give you peace of mind in doing your work, and, later on, the satisfaction that you were invited to the festival of building up this great country and that you made your contribution as well as you possibly could.

You may rest assured that I am easily accessible. If you have any complaint, any grievance, I am sure that we are ready here to respond to you, to understand you. We do not claim to be infallible. We do not claim that we shall never do anything wrong. We may be misled into doing wrong things. Infallibility we have no claim to. But, of course, we do not admit infallibility in others too. It goes without saying that we must try to carry out in our work the great tradition of fellowship established here and in that endeavour you will find me co-operative and sympathetic.

CIVIC AND LARGER RESPONSIBILITIES

I AM very grateful to you, Mr Mayor, Mr Deputy Mayor and Councillors of the Corporation of Madras, for your kind thought in presenting me with this welcome address. Your generous words about me reflect your largeness of heart (*ungal periya manasu*) and the goodwill and affection that you have for me.

You refer to my association with this city. It has been a close and intimate one. I was a student here, and I started my career as a teacher here. The intellectual foundations of my life were laid here. So I have special attachment to the city.

I had the honour of receiving an address from the Corporation of Madras as far back as 1938. In the interval our country has witnessed many changes, the most vital being the transition from bondage to freedom. Our generation, which was the last in bondage and the first in freedom, bears the historic responsibility of preparing the way for the development of the country.

The qualities of heroism, valour and creative enterprise revealed during the period of our struggle for freedom are still called for. They are needed more today because we are engaged in the important task of national reconstruction. We have been trying to transform radically the social, economic and cultural life of our people. We have done much to expand and develop agriculture, industry, and transport on land, sea and air. Our languages, paralysed for centuries, have become

Reply to the civic reception, Madras, 26 May, 1962

alive. And there is yet much to be done. The way ahead is long and difficult, strewn with pitfalls and dangers. Our economy is not yet self-supporting, we have not yet secured for our youth education and the social standards required for the continued maintenance of our spiritual and moral standards which are essential for our progress.

We have our share of grave and even dangerous faults and blemishes which we should try to overcome. In the recent elections complaints have been made that there is a general decline in integrity, even good manners. Some of us in high places are obsessed by the pursuit of power and profit by means not always honest but sometimes even shady, and by the craving for easy and comfortable careers and superficial luxuries at the expense of national interests. It is sad to hear that students do not get admission without recommendation. Even regular promotions in services cannot be had without influence. These complaints may be highly exaggerated, but we should be on our guard. Corruption and nepotism are bad but acquiescence in them is worse.

You refer to my work as a student of philosophy. I feel that what the world needs today is not merely knowledge but wisdom. The destructive tendencies have been with us for long, but these tendencies have today become a serious menace as they have at their service destructive power of incredible magnitude. If the world is to be saved, it is only by growth in man's wisdom and control of his nature. It is here that religious discipline can help us. We must preserve what has come down to us as a precious heritage for over forty centuries, a heritage to which the people of this part have made considerable contributions.

True religion is in the heart of men, not in the man-made creeds. It believes in the spiritual nature of man, the essential divinity of the human soul. All religions emphasize this aspect. This is the basis of our democracy. Man has within him the power by which he can rise to the heights of achievement. He can shake off shame and sorrow, conquer darkness. He can accomplish these things by free choice. He is answerable for the future. Democracy requires us not to evade our responsibility or acquiesce in the wrong but asks us to commit ourselves to the task of improving the society to which we happen to belong.

We pride ourselves on our spirituality but we do not seem to demonstrate it in our daily life. Caste and community have become the basis of group loyalties, resulting in clashes and conflicts. It is time that each one of us examined himself and saw to it that he behaved towards other human beings with respect and dignity.

We in this country have affirmed that the only absolute law of being is the law of change. This world is called *jagat, saṁsāra*. It is always fluid, perpetually changing. We should not become the spokesmen of the past. Many of our past forms are irrelevant in the present

context. Many of our practices are meaningless. We should try to shake them off and renew ourselves.

Along with the rest of the country this city has also increased in numbers and activities. It has contributed to the well-being of this country. Many outstanding figures in politics and public life, law and administration, social service and education have come from this part of the country. It is my devout hope that the city will maintain its great traditions and improve them.

The Corporation of Madras can do a great deal for the betterment of the people. Irrespective of party and political affiliations, its members should work for the well-being of the people. As the population increases—it is now nearly two million—our obligations also increase, especially in the matter of social welfare and education. It is my hope that this city will grow not only in numbers but in the quality of its citizens and be a model of democratic endeavour.

History has granted to us the privilege of realizing the hopes and dreams of generations of our people to make this country a moral State, a civilized nation. We should work together, if these hopes are not to be disappointed.

We know our task to be not one of mere politics but one which will search us through and through, whether we are able to understand our time and the need of the people, whether we are indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the strong will to choose the right, or not. The period is not one of triumph but one of dedication. Men's lives hang in the balance; their hopes wait on us. All patriotic forward-looking men are called upon to subordinate their group loyalties to the one supreme cause of saving humanity.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN SOCIAL WORK

I AM exceedingly happy to be here and inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations. I have watched with keen interest and sympathy the growth of the Andhra Mahila Sabha from its beginnings to its present position, when its activities extend over two States. The Sabha deserves our hearty congratulations on its quiet but splendid service for the last twenty years in the cause of education and the health of women and children.

I hope Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh will not feel embarrassed if I

Speech at the Andhra Mahila Sabha Silver Jubilee celebrations, Madras, 27 May, 1962

say that the growth of the Andhra Mahila Sabha bears the imprint of her dynamic energy, devoted effort and organizing capacity. Her work for the women and children of these parts is an illustration of what an individual can do if he or she has the vision and the will.

Our generation is not inferior in any respect to others, in enterprise, courage or pioneering achievement. Yet we need today more spiritual greatness than any previous generation did. Never has any generation confronted such formidable tasks, such great opportunities, or such grave dangers. If we are to understand the tasks facing us and work for them, we must be properly educated.

One of the surest signs of the emergence of our country into the modern age is the status of women. We have been working for the equal rights of women, to speak of recent times, from Ram Mohan Roy to our own day. Equal rights for men and women are incorporated in our Constitution. They have not only a right to participate in public life but a duty to do so. We expect that they will do so without losing their essentially feminine qualities.

The main activities of the Andhra Mahila Sabha centre round education and health, intellectual efficiency and physical fitness. We suffer from ignorance, and education is the means to remove it. It should be of the right type. The educated person should be not merely a better informed or a more skilled person : he must be a better person and be an example of self-control and disciplined behaviour. We cannot attain spiritual wholeness by wealth or learning, *na vittena, na bahunā śrutena*. Our natures are split, and on account of this alienation in our being, we suffer from mental unrest and anxiety. This is evident from the increasing sales of stimulants and sedatives. The hectic pace of life with its stresses and strains is responsible for the diseases of civilization from which our age suffers. Life has become soft. Unhappiness, shock, and tragedy of one kind or other, affect all of us. Health is not a commodity to be bought—it is to be attained through accommodation to the norms of nature. We need a sane and well-ordered life; *aśāntasya kutaḥ sukhaṁ,* without inward peace, *śānti,* we cannot be happy. Our essential being is inward, spiritual, and it derives its strength from within and not from without. For the renewal of our spirit we must fall back on our inward resources. We must get back now and then to the shrine of inward solitude and not get lost in the turmoil of the world. We must have a sacred centre in our life. No one can rob us of the meaning of life unless we permit it. We must acquire it through the discipline of philosophy and religion, through meekness, love and self-dedication. Man is not satisfied with what he is. He longs to become better, nobler. He seeks and aspires, whatever be the cost in pain. Man wishes to strive for a measure of pride and dignity in his own manhood. He will accept only what satisfies his reason and con-

science. Rigid orthodoxies may demand unquestioning total obedience to the last syllable of scriptural dogma but in our country we make generous allowance for the questing spirit, the troubled heart. Faith that is reached through ordeal and agony has been glorified all through the ages, *jñānaṁ vijñāna sahitaṁ.*

The basic values of human life have not altered much. I just had the pleasure of unveiling the figure of "Mother and Child," a theme common to all religions, Yaśodā and Kṛṣṇa, Madonna and Christ. Sound family life is the basis of a healthy social life. There is no substitute for a mother's love. Those who neglect their duties to children are unfaithful to their natural instincts.

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* tells us how the mother of Satyakāma Jābāli made her son a devotee of truth. When he was asked by his teacher to give the name of his *gotra,* he asked his mother; she told him : *bahvahaṁ carantīṁ paricāriṇīṁ tvām alabhe.* The *Rāmāyana* gives us in a well-known verse how Rama was sleepy and drowsy but woke up as soon as his mother's name was uttered, *Kauśalyā suprajā rāma.* A verse is attributed to Śaṁkara, which says that there may be a bad son but that we do not have a bad mother, *kuputro jāyeta kvacid api kumātā na bhavati.*

Social workers realize the urgency of guarding a bright future for our children. The protection of the unprotected, and the care of the poor who cannot help themselves, have become the decisive concerns of our age.

Women by nature are compassionate. They abhor violence and cruelty. When Draupadī's children, the Upapāṇḍavās, were killed by Aśvatthāmā, when it was suggested that Arjuna should retaliate and kill Aśvatthāmā, Draupadī protested and said, "I do not want Gautamī, the mother of Aśvatthāmā, to have the same grief that I now have."

mā rodīd asya jananī gautamī patidevatā
yathā 'haṁ mṛtavatsārtā rodimy aśrumukhī muhuḥ[1]

"Let not Aśvatthāmā's mother Gautamī, who adores her husband, weep like me constantly with tear-stained face for progeny lost."

Better to die wronged than to live and do wrong. Draupadī represents the voice of compassion, of *ahiṁsā.* She does not demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

The creative force of love is more effective than violent conflicts, diplomatic machinations. No technical education, no economic or political measures, not even atom and hydrogen bombs can prevent the impending catastrophe. Only love can accomplish the miracle.

[1]*Bhāgavata Purana,* I. vii. 47

I hope that the Andhra Mahila Sabha, with its varied activities, will stress the need for the true quality of human beings with informed minds, civilized hearts and sensitive souls. It is such people that we need most.

CO-OPERATIVE ENDEAVOUR

It gives me great pleasure to be here today to inaugurate the Mandya Paper Mills. The speedy erection of this symbolizes the triumph of co-operative endeavour—between the Centre and the States, between Indian capital and foreign expertise, and between the public sector and private enterprise.

In the socialist pattern of society that we have adopted as our objective it is not our intention to do away with private enterprise. It is rather to integrate its development within the framework of broader socio-economic ends such as the reduction of the inequalities of wealth and opportunity and the prevention of the concentration of economic power in a few hands.

Your Chairman has enumerated the various types of assistance provided by the Government or its agencies—water, power, transport, and so forth. These are the basic necessities for industrial development and much the greater part of investment in the public sector has been to provide these basic facilities, which in turn will make for a thriving and prosperous private sector. The achievement of our economic goals requires the willing co-operation and the acceptance of a broader social discipline by the private sector even as it requires an efficient and honest public sector.

Your Chairman referred to the fact that this is the first mill of its type in India to use sugar-cane bagasse as raw material for paper. He said that hitherto the only use for that was as fuel; now you will be producing paper, the main medium in the modern world for the dissemination of knowledge. I hope it will produce high-grade paper and serve the nation. With the spread of education and increase in the newspaper-reading public the need for paper will increase. Every attempt to increase this output deserves to be welcomed.

I wish the Mills and all concerned with it good luck.

Inauguration of the Mandya Paper Mills, Mysore State, 2 August, 1962

ERADICATION OF TUBERCULOSIS

I AM glad to be here and open this ward donated by the Lions Club. It is another sign that the Club is interested in alleviating pain and helping suffering humanity. The Club has done several things in this direction as you have just heard. This ward is another symbol of their civic consciousness and social sense.

It is a pleasure to hear the members described as lions. The majesty, the dignity and the great strength of the lion are well known. Our national emblem includes lions and the wheel of law. All strength must be subject to law. Everyone is both sovereign and subject.

In many countries tuberculosis has been wiped out. This has happened in two ways : by the improvement of the methods of treatment; chest surgery has developed a great deal; there should be sufficient scope for hospitalization which is not there; it is said that at some stage the patients could be treated at home under proper direction; we do not have at present sufficient beds for the people who suffer. Secondly, prevention is better than cure. Here environmental hygiene plays a great part. Those who easily fall a prey to tuberculosis are those who suffer from malnutrition, bad surroundings, etc. A general improvement in the conditions of life is the sure remedy for this dread disease. This does not depend merely on the medical services. Government and people will have to co-operate to remove the root causes of tuberculosis. I hope that there is this close co-operation and sense of urgency and purpose.

TOWARDS A BETTER LIFE

FRIENDS : I am deeply thankful to the Mayor and members of the Bangalore Corporation for their kindness in presenting me with this very generously worded address. It is owing to your affection for me. It is easier to get admiration and respect but affection is difficult to earn. That I have earned it to some little extent is a matter of great satisfaction to me.

You recall my association with this State and the two and a half years, July 1918 to February 1921, I spent as Professor of Philosophy in the Maharaja's College. In Mysore I found then the impetus to learning, secular and sacred, which the authorities here fostered. Great

Speech on opening a ward in the T.B. Hospital, Bangalore, 2 August, 1962
Reply to the civic reception, Bangalore, 2 August, 1962

scholars in *Smārta, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava* and *Śākta* systems of thought worked here. Learning and piety have grown together here. Beauty is also a remarkable feature of this State. The Central College, Bangalore, specialized in sciences, and the Indian Institute of Science here attracted great scientists from home and abroad. Thus this State was noted for its work in liberal arts and sciences, theoretical and applied.

New industries are springing up in this city. Your city in about twenty years has grown from a city containing about five lakhs of people to fourteen lakhs. This has naturally brought up other problems like the need for increased water supply and slum clearance. You are actively engaged in the solution of these problems, and I wish you success.

The advance of science and technology has given us the means to banish poverty and disease and improve living standards. The harnessing of new sources of energy, the invention of new techniques of industrial and agricultural production, the amazing discoveries in the field of medicine have all created the potential for a better life.

The sharing of these gains by all the world's peoples constitutes the major challenge of our time. When so much of creative work in this field needs to be done, it is tragic to see the diversion of resources to other ends and the present drift towards a build-up of nuclear arms, competitive nuclear testing and the failure to achieve a satisfactory basis for general disarmament. Whatever the big powers may say about the principle of disarmament, what we are witnessing today is a piling up of the weapons of war and a conditioning of men's minds in that direction. In a thermo-nuclear holocaust which will result if this drift continues, we will all be engulfed : it will be mankind that will be destroyed, not this nation or that, for in such a war there will be neither victor nor vanquished.

The alternative to such insensate destruction is the policy of live and let live. Peaceful co-existence is the only sane alternative to total destruction. This is no more than the extension of the democratic right to differ and the abandonment of a self-righteous attitude and of a crusading spirit based on the assumption that one is always right and the other always wrong. We should give up the white or black policy. No nation has a right to impose its will on others.

Peaceful co-existence is as much a temper of mind as a political policy. It is a mental attitude born of compassion and understanding, a spirit of tolerance and sympathy and breadth of imagination. The unity of mankind is a cherished ideal not merely in this country but in several other religions and modes of thought. A truly international society and a world fellowship of spirit are the only guarantees for security even as unbridled nationalism carries with it a sure threat of conflict.

A balanced education which combines the development of the intellectual, aesthetic, ethical and spiritual sides of man can save the world. The cultivation of a scientific outlook and a spiritual temper are essential for the future of the world.

The advent of freedom and the social and economic revolution that has accompanied it have resulted in the emergence of an awakened people and an articulate intelligentsia. Great expectations have been aroused in our people, and if they are not fulfilled, frustration results. Our people will put up with any amount of frustration, if only they are sure of a clean administration which is striving earnestly to attain the realization of the hopes aroused in them.

For the development of national cohesion and an international community, self-control and restraint are necessary. The name of your State reminds us of the conquest of the beast in us by the Divine Power.

I wish you well.

THE SHAPING OF MODERN MYSORE

I AM happy to be here to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations of *Sādhvī*. It is conducted to commemorate the services of the late Shri M. Venkatakrishnayya to journalism. I had the pleasure of knowing him when I was a professor in the Maharaja's College. I know the great interest he took in the well-being of the students. Many were encouraged by him and came to occupy good positions in life.

It does not matter what we are born with, a silver spoon or a wooden spoon. What matters is how we use what we have. We may be born with a silver spoon and yet gather dust with it. We may be born with a wooden spoon and yet gather wisdom with it. The equipment with which we are born has to be used for noble ends. Shri Venkatakrishnayya helped many poor and unfortunate young men with facilities for education. It is a happy idea to have this paper to remind us of his services.

I am glad that you have asked me to unveil the portrait of the late Shri M. Visvesvaraya. He was the Dewan of Mysore State when I first came to Mysore University. Modern Mysore shows the impact of his outstanding personality in different directions, economic and industrial. The great irrigation works owe not a little to his vision, imagination and enterprise. He may be said to be the author of

Silver Jubilee celebrations of *Sādhvī*, Mysore, 3 August, 1962

planned economic development in our country. He thought of it even when we were under political subjection. To the last he retained his interest in the economic growth of our country. He made very valuable contributions in public speeches. I had the honour of knowing him for over forty years. I hope the example of his great life will continue to inspire our young men and women for a long time to come.

AN EXAMPLE OF CO-OPERATION

FRIENDS: I am happy to be here today to put into commission formally the first of the generating units of the Neyveli Thermal Station. This is the first time that we generate in this country electric power from lignite.

On this occasion, which marks an important phase of the Neyveli Project, I should like to congratulate the engineers and workers, Indian and foreign, who have helped to build this Station. I should also like to thank the Soviet Union, not only for supplying us with equipment on credit, but also for helping us in our efforts to build this Station.

As your Chairman said, our industrial progress is conditioned by the power that we are able to produce. Here we have an integrated project, the mining of 3½ million tons of lignite and the utilization of it in a thermal power-station to generate electricity; there are other schemes also.

The great installation, of which this Thermal Plant is a part, is yet another indication that this country is on the move. We have set for ourselves the goal of economic progress within the framework of democratic institutions. Any faltering on our part in the task of ameliorating the living conditions of our people constitutes a threat to the survival of democracy itself. Not only should we increase our national wealth, but the increased wealth has to be shared by all parts of the country if national cohesion, so essential to the maintenance of our freedom, is to be preserved and strengthened. It is for this that we have adopted as one of the important objectives in our Plans, the necessity for balanced regional development. Neyveli is a striking example of the translation into practice of this objective. Here is a Project financed by the Centre, located in the south and designed to benefit the whole nation.

Industrial progress in the south has so far been handicapped by the absence of cheap fuel and power. We have had recently drastic power-cuts. With Neyveli, I hope, this difficulty will be diminished. Here we

Speech at commissioning of the first unit of the Thermal Power Station, Neyveli, 5 August, 1962

have the beginning of a vast industrial complex. The power generated at this Station and fed into the Madras grid will attract many industrial enterprises; the fertilizer factory rising alongside creates the opportunity for more chemical industries, apart from its immediate purpose of augmenting agricultural production. I am informed that the possibilities are being explored of "marrying" Neyveli lignite with Salem iron ore to produce the basis for the development of a steel industry in this region.

Industrialization is as much a social phenomenon as it is an economic one. Going round this Project one is impressed by the attention paid to the township and the health and educational needs of its people; one of the happy features of our industrial programmes is the care and attention devoted to the living conditions of the workers. This, undoubtedly, tends to raise the costs of projects, but it has its reward in better industrial relations, greater efficiency and a happier people. The successful working of the co-operative movement in this township is another welcome feature. We are gratified to see for ourselves Indians working not only with people from the Soviet Union but also from the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and the United States. Here we find peaceful co-existence of people from countries professing different political and economic systems. If this example is extended to the tackling of political conflicts which are poisoning human relations today, this Project will serve a larger purpose.

As not infrequently happens in projects of this magnitude and complexity, construction has been behind schedule and the outlays have exceeded the original estimates. In our race against time and with our paucity of resources, this is something that we can ill afford and, I am sure, attention is being paid to this aspect.

I wish all those connected with Neyveli further success, fewer delays and speedy completion of the remaining parts of this great scheme. They are engaged in the great task of fighting want and hunger. Lenin said, "If every village had a soviet and electricity, the country will improve." We adapt it to our conditions and say, "If every village has an honest panchayat and cheap electric power, our country will progress."

Shri K. D. Malaviya just mentioned the great conquest of nature that we have achieved. It is something to be proud of, but it has to be supplemented by a conquest of inward nature. If with all these spectacular achievements we still live in a world of nightmare, if we are building walls of nuclear armaments and are afraid of one another, it is because of the qualities of greed, love of power and national conceit by which we are obsessed. It is time that we looked within ourselves and stamped out the antisocial tendencies which are lurking within us under the veneer of civilization. If we are to be truly civilized, humanity should assert itself. Our classics require us to integrate ourselves, our society, and our relationship with the Supreme. Individual integration, social

integration and spiritual integration are called for if human beings are to lead human lives. We need scientific development to fight the tyranny of want, the demon of poverty; we need spiritual development, if we are to lead full and rich lives.

I wish this enterprise a prosperous future.

A GREAT PARLIAMENTARIAN

I AM happy to be here this evening and unveil this bust of Pandit Motilal Nehru. It is put up here because when he led the Swarajist Party in the Central Assembly, he used to stay in the Western Court. So there is a special appropriateness in having the bust here.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has already mentioned to you the impression that he made as the Leader of the Swarajist Party in the Central Assembly. He won the affection of his followers and the admiration of his opponents even when fundamental questions were dividing him from the opponents. Today, within the framework of freedom, we are trying to carry out some of the traditions and patterns of behaviour which he originally established.

Sometimes we hear of disorderly scenes in our Legislative Assemblies, which make us feel that we still stand in need of greater discipline. After all, democracy has discipline as its necessary implication. Every individual is both a sovereign and a subject. He is sovereign because he subjects himself to law. If we overlook this restraining influence, then democracy is reduced to anarchy. It is essential that those who take to parliamentary life should remember some of the acts of Motilal Nehru and some of the words which he uttered. We must be patient with our opponents and impatient with ourselves. Self-criticism is more essential than criticism of our opponents. That is one of the things that we should remember.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur referred to his statement about religion, how it had become a divisive influence, how people mistook it for narrow-mindedness and fanaticism. Anything which makes us hate others is not religion. It is the opposite of religion. If religion is to be a binding force, it should become both rational and spiritual. It should encourage tolerance and understanding. Otherwise it is not religion.

She has referred to many of the forces which are today keeping us apart. It must be our duty to overcome these disruptive, reactionary forces and build up a healthy cohesive society.

Speech on unveiling the bust of Pandit Motilal Nehru, New Delhi, 26 August, 1962

A statement was made by Pandit Motilal Nehru a few days before his death. He said : "I want an honourable settlement with Britain, but so long as there is a drop of blood in the Nehru family, we will not suffer defeat." This also gives our two-fold approach to our foreign relations, the approach of friendliness and firmness. We must be conciliatory, we must seek an honourable settlement, but at the same time we must also be firm so far as our honour is concerned. This is the advice which he gave us when we were dealing with the British people.

As a humanist, as a democrat, he was greatly concerned over the inequalities of wealth and poverty which we have in this country. A nation's prestige is judged not by the number of millionaires it has but by the extent of poverty that there is : we must judge ourselves today by the steps we take to equalize opportunities, to narrow the distance between wealth and poverty, and to make available to the ordinary man the necessaries of life, food, clothing and shelter. That is the one test by which our people will be judged.

Whenever Members of Parliament come here and look at the bust, they are bound to be reminded of the great principles of national discipline, national honour, national unity and equality among ourselves. If we remember these principles, I have no doubt that we will go a long way.

DR BHAGVAN DAS

FRIENDS : it is appropriate that we should now and then remember the services of all those who have contributed to the making of modern India. Bhagvan Das occupies a very prominent place among such people.

You have listened to accounts of different sides of his many-splendoured personality—a thinker, a scholar, an interpreter, an educator, and a reformer. All these things he achieved in one single life and to an outstanding degree.

There are many people who do not know all the sides of his life. The Banaras Hindu University and the Kasi Vidya Peeth were organizations with which he was associated. They have now become prominent institutions of national education in the country.

Reference was made to his services to the public life of this country. Once he even courted imprisonment. All that you know. He was a political scientist to a remarkable degree, but the most important aspects

Speech presiding over Dr Bhagvan Das *shraddhānjali* celebrations, New Delhi, 16 September, 1962

of his life related to social organization and spiritual thought. Here it was that he made a profound impression. Shri Deshmukh referred to his book *The Science of Social Organization;* the Code of Manu became in his hand *mānava dharma śāstra,* a code for all humanity. It is not a code for this country only, or a section of its people : it is a code for all humanity. It takes its stand on certain basic principles which contributed to thought in India. We neglected the duties of life and we concentrated on metaphysical reverie and spiritual meditation. Dr Bhagvan Das was one, who by his own life work, repudiated such a kind of misconception. He took hold of the four ways—*dharma, artha, kāma,* and *mokṣa.* We want to gratify natural desires; we want to satisfy economic needs; but these things must be subordinated to the law of righteousness, to the law of morality. There are some who imagine today that they can attain spiritual heights by overlooking the ethical paths. Here he made out that the ethical path is the only path to the spiritual. You cannot bypass the ethical. You cannot say, "I have nothing to do with right or wrong; I have touched the Supreme; therefore I have liberty to do what I please." There are many people today who go about pretending to be great masters of spiritual life without observing the fundamental canons of morality. Here he has emphasized that the moral way is the only way by which we can attain any kind of spiritual height. Heaven and earth are combined together, idealism and practical life; they are not divorced from each other. There is the great *mudrā* in the Buddha—*bhūmi* is one *mudrā.* He says, "I touch the earth and want you to test the truth of what I am saying by your practical life. I do not want you to understand or admit anything simply because I say it. Not out of *gaurava* or regard for me, but by testing it must you accept what I say."

In other words, he said that every doctrine which he enunciated was something which should be tested by the processes of action in life. Life and spirit are not separate from each other. They are not divorced from each other. All life is sacramental. Life must be regarded as having something of divine nature about it. So in different ways he established the relevance of spiritual life to the actual details and duties in this world.

The other thing to which reference has already been made is the essential unity of all religions. It is here that Bhagvan Das took his stand on *advaita vedānta.* You find that Śaṁkarācārya is called the one who established the six different creeds. He codified all the creeds which were prevalent in his time; he gave respectability to them, and he pointed out that you should not quarrel about these creeds themselves. Each one of them must be regarded as respectable, as authentic; only if you practise it will you be able to touch the heights.

We are all born from the same source. Ultimately we reach the same goal. In between, our passages may diverge : we may take this path or that path, determined by our circumstances, by our habitat, geography

and history. But if you recognize these facts, the oneness of the soul and the oneness of the goal will be admitted by you. God is the source, He is the guide, and He is the goal. There is nobody who is deserted by God, whatever view he may adopt. We may not know the feelings of God, or the majesty of God or the immensity of God. But God knows our heart. We are judged by the earnestness of our endeavour, the intensity of our convictions and the sincerity of our effort. These are the things which determine whether we are authentically religious or not.

Many of us are religious at second-hand. We are religious by conforming to certain practices, by observing certain rites, but a truly religious man will rebel against many of the practices in which we may indulge. Look at the animal sacrifice which we indulge in in the name of religion. No religion can be regarded as true if it encourages blood sacrifice. No religion can be regarded as qualifying itself for being a true religion if it encourages such abnormal practices which are repugnant to the ethical sense of man. So no spiritual life can be true if it is not at the same time absolutely ethical.

Here Dr Bhagvan Das has pointed out to us that the different religions must be regarded as partners in nourishing the spiritual life of mankind. They should not be treated as rivals which compete with one another. These are all the different pathways which we adopt. Owing to circumstances and historical accidents, we happen to adopt this or that particular thing. We are not responsible for doing so. We have not chosen our parents. We have not chosen the land in which we are born, but these things happen to us and if we are true, we must adopt an attitude of brotherhood towards one another.

Reference was made to the Theosophical Society and the influence Mrs Besant had on Dr Bhagvan Das. The Theosophical Society started with the three great principles of investigation of occult phenomena, comparative study of religions and the establishment of the brotherhood of man. The latter two led him to great vistas. It is essential in this world that we ought never to be worried about the past. As the Atharva Veda tells us, "Go forward, go forward. Never look back." That is the one message which the work, life and personality of Dr Bhagvan Das have for us.

THE DELHI CORPORATION

Mr Mayor, Members of the Corporation and friends : I had the honour of receiving an address from the Delhi Corporation a few years ago when I happened to be the Vice-President. Now there has been a slight change in my position. So this honour is being repeated. I am happy to be here, and I thank you for your very generous words.

You were talking about UNESCO, my connection with the Soviet Union, etc. Real greatness consists in making people think differently and in changing their conduct. Some of the great changes that have taken place in the world are a challenge to us, and they require us to abandon settled modes of thinking and to adopt new methods and adjust ourselves to the new situation. With all these nuclear developments, if we allow things to drift, it will result in a holocaust. If, on the other hand, we try to shape the course of events in the direction we need, there may be a change. There is nothing inevitable in human history. The very fact that we are human beings means that we have the power not to be mere servants of nature but shapers of our world. We have to do so now.

The great division in the world today between the two blocs makes us feel that a situation, however bad it may be, is something which we can alter. There is no doubt that changes are taking place on every side. Democracies are becoming more and more socialist in character. It is happening in the Scandinavian countries, in Great Britain, even in the United States. It is happening again in the Soviet Union. There is nothing immutable with regard to social and political institutions. The kind of Soviet Union which we see today is different from the kind which I saw when I happened to be the Indian Ambassador there ten years ago. We now know that Lenin's Soviet Union was different from Stalin's and Stalin's from Khrushchev's. I tell you that the criticisms which we hurl against the Soviet system are known to them. Mr Khrushchev declared to an Oxford audience : "When I went to a kolkhoz and asked a student who wrote *Anna Karenina,* the boy with trepidation said, 'I did not write it.' I took hold of the MVD man and asked him, 'How is it you are mishandling your job ?' The next day the MVD man came and said that the student had admitted that he had written the book !" You see here that a man like Khrushchev is able to laugh at himself and become aware of the type of criticism that is made. When a man laughs at himself, there is a great deal of hope, and I feel that since social and political institutions are not fixed—they are perpetually in a state of evolution—the differences which happen to divide us are not likely to

Reply to Civic Address, Delhi, 5 October, 1962

go on for ever. There will be changes in the two systems and the extremes will meet. It is in that hope that we have to work in this world.

So far as the Delhi Corporation is concerned, it is a Corporation in the Capital of our country. It has to set an example to the other corporations in the country. Here, men of all communities, all races, men and women, are working together for achieving the one common object of making Delhi City clean, healthy and beautiful. Whatever political differences we may have, cleanliness, health and beauty are common ideals. Every member of the Corporation should remember that in our discussions, while we may have the liberty to talk as freely as we please, we have not the liberty to behave in an indecent or undignified manner. Decency and dignity are born of good breeding. They must be the result of an aroused conscience, and it is necessary for every individual to develop that sense of right, that sense of individual integrity, which will make him feel ashamed of any kind of behaviour not consistent with them. That is what we should do. If we are able to understand that, that is the spirit of true democracy; we may dispute, but there is no justification for falling below certain minimum standards of decency and good behaviour. It is our anxiety that this great Corporation should set an example of decency and dignity in its discussions.

We now and then hear of break-downs of power, water supply, etc. These are not things which we should tolerate. We should take every measure possible to see that this Capital city does not become subject to such break-downs in the provision of the common amenities necessary for civilized existence.

While thanking the Corporation for the honour it has done me a second time, I wish the Corporation all success, and hope that it will, in the management of the services for which it is responsible and by the character of the deliberations it conducts, set an example to other corporations.

THE UNITED CHAMBER OF TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

FRIENDS : I am delighted to be here and meet the representatives of the United Chamber of Trade Associations of Delhi City, and I am thankful to them for the very kind words which they have said of me.

The very name United Chamber of Trade Associations gives me cheer because here at least Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and members of

Address to the United Chamber of Trade Associations, Delhi, 14 October, 1962

other communities are able to get together and work together for the common purpose of improving the trade of our country. Here is an objective which has brought them all together, and I hope that this spirit of amity and harmony will be extended to other things also.

We recognize trade or business as one of the main functions of any community. From the beginning of civilization every community had a branch or class, the mercantile community, interesting itself in promoting the trade of the country. Only there has been a greater diversification of trade in modern times : so many things have come—shipping, banking, and insurance—ever so many new things which were not thought of by earlier people. These are all included in trade today. The sphere of trade is expanding, its nature is getting diversified and people of all communities are taking part in it and in increasing the wealth of the community.

It is wrong to imagine that there is any kind of suspicion about the mercantile community of our country. Every community has its black sheep, but that does not mean that the community itself is black. The community has high traditions and it has to act up to those high traditions; you can eliminate doubtful, unscrupulous persons by the development of a strong public opinion and setting a good example about the way in which any kind of deficiency can be removed. It is always a danger to promote trade or to increase wealth at the expense of normal standards. One of our great thinkers has said : when there is a conflict between the pursuit of wealth and the pursuit of righteousness, we must put righteousness above the pursuit of wealth.

There is no question that this is an important city where there is so much development of trade. The example you set will be of great use and influence in other parts of the country.

So far as the administration of Delhi is concerned, I have no doubt that your legitimate demands will be properly considered and adequately met when they come up.

You refer to our present dispute with China which has assumed somewhat large proportions. Much to our sorrow, much against our will, we are obliged to take part in that conflict. Our hope is that the Chinese, even at this date, will withdraw to where they were before the 8th of September, bring about the termination of hostilities and produce a climate when it will be possible for us to think about these things. That is our hope.

So long as the conflict is there, the country must stand united, political conflicts should be subordinated to the national obligation. I have no doubt that the people of our country will stand by the Government in the stupendous task which faces it, and I am happy to be assured by you that that will be the attitude which you will adopt. You will help us not merely in furthering the Third Five Year Plan and

in increasing the wealth of the country but in enabling us to face the conflict which is now confronting us on the border.

I thank you very much for your welcome.

THE TOUCH OF HEALING

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here today and inaugurate the 16th General Assembly of the World Medical Association. I have just heard that this Association is meeting for the first time in Asia, and we are proud that it is meeting in India. I extend to all the members here, especially the delegates from abroad, our very cordial welcome.

We have listened to an account of the aims and objectives of this Association from Dr Sen—to foster knowledge through the contact of free minds, to exchange information, to uphold high professional standards, and most of all, to promote world peace.

This country has had a very long tradition in the science of medicine and surgery. An early saying of ours is : before we can do anything else, we must have physical efficiency :

dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣāṇām
ārogyaṁ mūlamuttamaṁ

For the pursuit of economic, ethical, artistic and spiritual ends, the most important basis is physical efficiency. Without it, we cannot have the development of the other sides of human nature. We must live well before we can adopt the higher pursuits. If you look at the remains of the Indus Valley Civilization cities, you will find there drainage systems, bath-rooms and wide roads giving us an idea of their concepts of hygiene and sanitation. One of the edicts of Aśoka tells us : "In my kingdom there are hospitals for the treatment of man and for the treatment of animals." In other words, the first hospitals in the world for animals were established in this country in those early days. And Charaka has laid down a high code for medical practitioners : not for gain, not for reputation, not for gaining some kind of end in the other life, but for the purpose of relieving the suffering of people—that should be the ideal which medical practitioners should adopt.

Latterly we have had the different systems of medicine which have been brought into our country. We have the *Unani* system and homoeopathy. There is also what is called the *siddha vaidya* of Tamilnadu.

Speech inaugurating the 16th General Assembly of the World Medical Association, New Delhi, 11 November, 1962

All the different systems are working together and are learning from one another. Great improvements have been made in this country in recent years through the application of modern methods for the rooting out of diseases which used to claim many victims. Malaria will be eradicated in a short time. We are fighting tuberculosis, leprosy and other diseases. The very fact that our longevity has increased, and that our population has also increased, is indicative of the higher standards of health and sanitation which are observed in this country.

More than all these things, we require today a kind of mental health, which is more essential in modern times than even physical health.

Today happens to be Remembrance Day, in remembrance of the victims who fell in the two World Wars. It comes to us with special poignancy because our jawans and our officers are now facing a ruthless enemy on our borders and are laying down their lives, risking their all for preserving the freedom of this country.

What is it all due to ? A human being is a complex entity. On the one hand he wants to cure disease, to remove poverty, malnutrition and other things : on the other, in a fit of passion he has no hesitation in inflicting the worst forms of torture on other human beings. Human nature has this kind of conflict : raging fanaticism, love of power, greed, domination are there on one side; on the other, you have also love of humanity, social justice, national freedom. These things are struggling in the heart of man.

What is necessary is an integration of human nature, giving to it peace of mind. The crisis in the world represents merely a crisis in the human soul. Mental health has become the need of the hour. If we are able to infuse peace of mind, some kind of detachment, some recognition that we are members one of another, if we are able to make human beings realize this fundamental fact, we prepare this world for a peaceful time. We are all anxious for—and you have it as one of your objectives—the promotion of world peace. If world peace is impeded, if the world stands poised between hope and fear, it is because you are afraid of the weakness which is in man and which causes fear while you also recognize the nobility of human nature which gives you hope.

You medical men in this Association are assembled to cure the ills of humanity, not merely the physical ills, but the mental ills of humanity. If you are able to succeed in this great attempt, I have no doubt that we will go forward to our goal—a world in which there will be no poverty, no want, no fear. That is the ideal to which we have to direct all our energies and efforts.

I do hope that in this conference you will take note of that fact; you will recognize that you are here as a world organization; you are trying

to have the noble objective of relieving the sufferings of man. The greatest suffering facing us today is due to the cussedness of man, people suffering from a kind of emotional insecurity and trying to show off by making out that they are powerful creatures. This mental and emotional insecurity and human frailty are things which require to be removed.

It is true that you are increasing the longevity of man. But what are we going to do with the increased years which modern science and surgery are giving us ? How are we going to use these years ? Are we going to employ them for the destruction of humanity, or are we going to use them for promoting the solidarity of mankind ? That is the problem facing the whole world. I do hope that your deliberations will contribute to some extent to make us understand the gravity of the problems, how we should subordinate our national interests, our sectarian interests, to the supreme interest of "On Earth One Family."

I am happy to inaugurate this esteemed Assembly of the World Medical Association.

A NEW PATTERN OF LIFE

MAY I extend a hearty welcome to the delegates to the 19th International Conference of Ophthalmology, especially to those who have come from abroad. We note with pleasure that it is the first time that this Conference is being held in Asia, in New Delhi. I hope that you will find your stay here pleasant and useful.

You have a noble aim : increase of knowledge for the good of humanity and the relief of blindness. There are many forms of eye diseases. From the pigment spot of the simplest organisms to the human eye where hundreds of different factors work together for achieving the one function of vision, it is a long way. Sight is the physical phenomenon to which the eye gets adapted. If there are many elements which work in a co-ordinated way for achieving a single function, there are the possibilities of many diseases also. You are working for preventing blindness and other diseases of the eye and for curing many when they are curable. This noble purpose binds all the workers from different lands. It makes for international fellowship.

You have referred to the contributions of this country to the science of Ophthalmology. We have had many eminent men in ancient times. Our growth was arrested, and today, owing to the impact of the West,

Speech inaugurating the 19th International Conference of Ophthalmology, New Delhi, 3 December, 1962

we are striving to keep abreast of the knowledge of our times. This Conference will help to strengthen the interchange of thought and experience in this field and stimulate our progress.

Many cases of blindness are due to malnutrition, bad sanitation and defective water supply. Through planned development we are attempting to create better conditions of sanitation in towns and villages. Every important city should have a separate Eye Hospital, and every medical college should have an Eye Department. I hope very much that our development schemes will not be much curtailed on account of the present emergency.

Your profession represents the noble quality in man which cannot bear to see others in pain. Compassion is the health of the soul, its beauty and power. Cruelty is the disease of the soul. It is deformity and weakness. You believe that life on earth should be one of happiness and love and not of hatred and horror. You are proud to call yourself members of the family of ophthalmologists. If the world is a large family, such conferences break down national and racial boundaries.

We can live without hatred and enmity, without false ambitions, without high-pressure competition, without becoming slaves to the seduction of power. All this requires a new pattern of life, a pattern which will unite the peoples of the world and not divide them. There are people in all parts of the world who are dedicated to this high purpose as this Conference demonstrates. You have the quality of compassion, a sense of fellowship, and if these qualities are acquired by our leaders, the world will be a different place. There is such a thing as spiritual blindness. We must get an idea of the high purpose to which our resources should be directed.

We have regarded the cosmic mystery which enfolds the universe as the light of lights—*jyotiṣāṁ jyotiḥ*—and the human being must develop the eye of the soul to grasp that mystery. Human eyes can see only the outward forms; the inner soul is revealed to the inward eye, the divine eye or *divya cakṣuḥ*. No fleshly eye, or *māṁsa cakṣuḥ,* can see that sovereign form. The Teacher tells Arjuna that he cannot see Him with his naked eye, *svacakṣuṣā*. He gives one the divine eye, *divyaṁ dadāmi te cakṣuḥ paśya me yogamaiśvaraṁ*. The Ṛg Veda tells us that the seers see constantly that higher dwelling place of God even as the naked eye sees the sky spread out.

tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ
divīva cakṣur ātataṁ

We must get *jñāna cakṣuḥ*. The Supreme is *cakṣuṣī sarva lokānāṁ*. If the world is to be made into a home for humanity to dwell together

in peace and understanding, the recognition of the Supreme Light of the world is essential.

I hope that you, who are assembled together here with the noble aim of helping suffering humanity, who already constitute a family of members from distant parts of the world, may prepare the way for this larger world family. I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Conference.

THE RECORD OF THE INDIAN ARMY

I AM happy to be here today to witness the passing out parade and to present new Colours to the Indian Military Academy. The Academy, which started with 40 cadets in October, 1932, now has 1,500 cadets which number will go up to 1,800 in January. The Academy has had a very distinguished record. Some of its men have won the highest British and Indian distinctions like Victoria Cross, George Cross, Paramvira Chakra and Aśoka Chakra. I am told that a third of its men have won gallantry awards.

The Army in India has been one of the finest in the world and it has won the fear and respect of its opponents, and the confidence and admiration of its supporters. Years ago when inaugurating this Academy, Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode said of the Indian troops, "No better material exists in the world and they have proved it on many stricken fields." This view is endorsed by many knowledgeable persons. Under proper leadership, they will be as good as any others. Napoleon said that there were no bad troops, only bad officers.

I hope that those who are trained in this Academy have all the qualities of great leadership, discipline, adventure, initiative, endurance, love for those whom they command and intelligence in tactics.

We are now passing through difficult times. Till recently the Himalayas formed one of the greatest natural defences in the world. Protected by the Himalayas, we developed the arts of civilized life and pursued our economic and cultural development without any fear of threat from our northern neighbours. These defences have been battered in the west, in the centre and in the east. In Ladakh we have a border of 1,100 miles, in the centre 700 miles, and in the east 700 miles. These borders have now become very sensitive and unsafe. When the present conflict is settled, and the Chinese withdraw behind the barrier, a powerful and hostile neighbour will be free to penetrate the frontier at its choice. This long border of 2,500 miles has to be guarded. Friendship

Address on presenting Colours to the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, 10 December, 1962

is the one security. We have aimed at it and we are still working for it. When that is lacking, vigilance and proper defence are essential.

There is a great responsibility resting on you. The security, the safety, the honour, the self-respect, and the prestige of our country are your main concern. Honour or dishonour does not come from birth or privilege. If we act well our part, we gain honour. If we fail in our duty, that is the great dishonour. High standards are necessary. We must be well armed, skilled and intelligent. We should avoid loose talk. We must be clean and disciplined.

It is my hope that the new Colours which I had the honour of presenting to you a few minutes ago will inspire you to acts of daring, courage and sacrifice, and bring honour and safety to our country.

ROLE OF RURAL INDUSTRIES

FRIENDS : I am really happy to be here today to open the building and to listen to the report of your activities with great satisfaction. I congratulate you on the work you have done.

This organization has been associated with very great names, those of Mahatma Gandhi and Dr M. A. Ansari. Even today, men like Shri Krishnan Nair and Shri Brahm Perkash are associated with your activities. I congratulate the organization on its efforts. This organization gives us self-reliance and a co-operative spirit.

Whatever may be the advance of science and technology, however much we may apply machinery to agriculture and industry, there will always be scope for rural industries. Here is an example of how a village can become self-sufficient and produce handicrafts and goods which are the envy of many people : as I walked through the Exhibition, I found there were many textiles, saris and other things. It gave me great joy when I looked at them.

Years ago, when the British were in this country, Mahatma Gandhi gave us the call, "Quit India." Today our great leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, is telling the Chinese to quit India. He is prepared for an honourable settlement, settlement based on justice, dignity and the self-respect of our nation. But till they quit this country, we have to step up our defence.

It is good for you to remember that our jawans are taking great risks and laying down their lives for the defence of our country. I was very pleased to get the donations from ordinary people, people who

Speech on opening the new building of the Khadi Gramodyog Samiti, Narela, 16 December, 1962

are touched by the gravity of the crisis through which we are passing. Their hearts had been touched, and spontaneously they came here and gave me a long list of donations. We are thankful to them for the spirit which they embody.

It is said, "The world belongs to the brave." The *Bhagavadgītā* concludes with the verse :

yatra yogeśvaraḥ kṛṣṇo
yatra pārtho dhanurdharaḥ

If you want to have *vijaya* or victory, you must have the yoga of Kṛṣṇa and the *dhanus* of Arjuna. Trust in God, keep the powder dry, that is its meaning. What we are now attempting to do is not to surrender our great principles on which this country has been built up during the last fifteen years. But any inadequacies which we have experienced are likely to be corrected in the few days which are ahead of us. We are doing our best, with faith in God and faith in the justice of our cause. I have no doubt, therefore, that victory will be ours.

It is not true to think that our culture merely represented metaphysical reveries and neglected the mundane affairs. Our culture has been an integral one, taking into account all sides of our nature. We are called upon to participate in the work of the world.

Even as Śri Kṛṣṇa and Śri Janaka participated in the struggle and conflict of the world, the wisest and best of us will have to participate in the crisis which is now facing us, and I am glad to see that this is happening.

I congratulate you on the work which you have done and I wish you well for the future.

DR (MISS) IDA SCUDDER

Miss Ida Scudder came to Vellore, and her personal commitment or concern for fellow human beings is responsible for the development of this institution. It is today famous all over this country and abroad. The several institutions, which co-operated in making this institution what it is, deserve our warmest congratulations as they recognize that they should respond to the call of suffering wherever it may come from. They are members of one another. The oath which a medical practitioner has to take, according to Charaka, runs : "One

Speech at Christian Medical College, Vellore, 5 January, 1963

should practise medicine and surgery not merely to earn one's livelihood, or may be a good name, or to have any other object, but mainly for relieving the suffering of the sick."

In India medicine has been a sacred science, comparable to the other Vedas and is called Ayurveda—a positive definition, not a negative one. It is not the science of disease but the positive science of the health and well-being of the people. It is from Ayurveda that the Buddha took his four principles of *roga rogahetuḥ, roga nivṛttiḥ arōgyaṁ duḥkha, duḥkhahetuḥ duḥkhanivṛttiḥ nirvāṇaṁ*. The marvels of modern science and surgery have raised the expectation of life. But those who live for a longer period should have something to live for. For lack of this, we have cases of nervous breakdown and irritability—mental ill-health and ill-adjustment are increasing. Worry is a frequent source of complaint which causes lines on the face, marks on the mind, and scars on the heart. To get rid of worry, the only cure is a purpose in life. Mental health is necessary equally with physical health.

Our country suffers from so many diseases which are preventable. Malnutrition, bad sanitation, unhealthy surroundings, lack of skill in mothercraft are all responsible for them. I am glad, therefore, that you are having a School of Preventive Medicine. The other day, I heard that of the two million cases of blindness we have in this country, 90 per cent was preventable, and that of the other 10 per cent, 5 per cent was curable; and yet there are no facilities for curative treatment.

It is good to know that you are having a college for nurses. A patient needs not merely medical treatment but personal service. The healing touch of a good nurse contributes a great deal to the recovery of the patient. I am struck by the wonderful work of rehabilitation which is taking place in this centre. This shows how many lives are wasted for lack of proper treatment. This institution is doing excellent work, and it is my hope that its scope may be extended a great deal.

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

FRIENDS: I am very happy to be here this morning and open this Hall for which, as was just mentioned, the foundation-stone was laid last year by Shri S. R. Das, Vice-Chancellor of Santiniketan.

You have heard already an account of the work done by the late Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who is described as the founder of modern

Speech on opening of the Raja Ram Mohan Roy Hall, New Delhi, 25 January, 1963

India and the inaugurator of modern Indian renaissance. Renaissance is not merely revival. It takes up ancient wisdom and tries to reconcile it with modern enlightenment; and wherever there is a struggle between the two, it cuts out with a drastic hand whatever is repugnant to reason or to the moral sense.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a believer in human freedom, freedom in every sense of the term. He tried to emancipate the human mind from superstition, from obscurantism, from everything that lowers the dignity of man.

My friend, Shri Mahalanobis, read to you a passage from the Upaniṣads. *Tapas* is reflection on the nature of the universe. Panini tells us, the first word is *lochana,* the second is *ālochana,* reflection on the nature of the universe. He winds up by saying that spirit is the Ultimate Reality; not matter or *annaṁ,* not life or *prāṇa,* not mind or *manas,* not *vijñāna* or intelligence but *ānanda* or spirit is the Ultimate Reality from which all the others emanate. India, which adopted the Upaniṣads as one of its sacred texts, deviated from their path and lost itself in ceremonial piety and scholastic disputations. It is the mark of a great genius to recall our minds to the fundamental truth.

Moreover, Ram Mohan Roy studied the classics of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity and found that pure theism was the substance of all religions. On the basis of such a kind of theism it will be possible to integrate not only communities in this country but the whole world. In one of the prayer songs given today, it is made out that there is one Supreme Lord, one Maker of this Universe, described differently. By your heart, by your intelligence, by your will, you give that fact different descriptions, but the Ultimate Substance is one. There are halting, imperfect descriptions of that One Supreme. If we are able to recognize the reality of the Supreme, we will not fall into controversial paths; because mystery is mystery and our attitude is one of silent adoration. Our words and minds are unable to comprehend the immense mystery of this universe. That is the attitude the human mind must adopt : the human mind is incapable of comprehending adequately the nature of that Supreme.

If we get back to this religion of truth, truth of universal love, then it will be possible for us to forget our petty differences, our trivialities on which we waste our lives; our bigotries and disputations will all lose their force and significance. A truly religious man, if he is authentically religious, will feel that every human being has the dignity, has the spark of the Divine. Everyone is a fragment of that impersonal *Brahman.* You must help every one to discard all things which prevent his inward life from manifesting itself.

When in this country people were downtrodden and our women were subjected to many disabilities, Raja Ram Mohan Roy raised his

voice of protest and said that a country which called itself civilized must accept the basic principle of equality, the equality of all human beings : so long as some people were treated as inferior and others as superior, you were not truly civilized men. This concept of equality was there in our religion in its pristine state. In ancient times women were entitled to every kind of privilege that men had : privileges were given equally to men and women. But centuries passed and this whole concept of equality was dropped and we suffered as a result. If this country passed through degradation and subjection, it was because we were disloyal to the ideals that we professed. We proclaim high ideals but our practice is contrary to the high ideals, and that is the real cause of the suffering and subjection to which this country has been put. And if we are to get rid of all these things, we must abolish the disabilities. In practice complete equality should be given to men and women, to the fallen and downtrodden as well as to the privileged.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy said that he was also for freedom from political subjection, from political tyranny. His contributions to Bengali prose, to the freedom of the Indian press and to love of humanity, and the way in which he appealed to the French Minister and the British legislators about freedom for India, are well known.

There is no question that the great ideals for which Raja Ram Mohan Roy stood, religion of truth, social equality, unity of mankind, are still our distant goals. We have not realized them. So the message which Raja Ram Mohan Roy gave us is a message which still has validity, as the ideals for which he lived and died are yet unrealized. They have to be implemented by every one of us. He was, of course, subjected to persecution, to suffering. That is the lot of all great men. Let me assure you that the world is shaped by the genuine souls who contradict the world most : it is these people who convert the world.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy stood for equality against caste, for science against superstition, for democracy against dictatorship, for the religion of truth and not a religion of superstition. These are the things which we have to remember, and I hope that this Hall will echo to these great ideals in the years to come.

MEDICAL RESEARCH

I AM very happy to be here at the First Convocation of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. It is an important event in the growth of this Institute. I have no doubt that the graduates and others who have received their degrees today will look upon it as their special responsibility to establish sound traditions of not only medical expertness but civil behaviour, as much depends on the standards set by the first batch of those who go out of this institution.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, you were pleased to say how the Institute had derived assistance from several Governments and governmental agencies. It is another indication that we are living in an interdependent world : we are members one of another and we owe it to one another to help one another when we are in trouble. We have the great tradition, "All men are brothers," and wherever there is suffering and pain and a call is made, all those who are civilized and sensitive, generally respond to it. We are, therefore, most grateful to the different institutions and organizations which have helped this Institute in its initial stages.

Health, you said, is a prime necessity. People who are lacking in health are enslaved by diseases and other consequent factors. We, therefore, should do our utmost to promote the health of our people. We are doing our best and yet we have a very long distance to travel; and an institution like this, which specializes in quality, will certainly help to spread the advantages of medical science and surgery in this country.

A thing that struck me most here is the specialization that you are having and the research attempts that you are making. I heard that you are having 45 different research projects. The world is making tremendous advances in science and surgery. In this marvellous march towards greater knowledge and skill, it is our hope and ambition that our young men and women will take a prominent part. That they have the brains, that they have the skill and ability, I do not doubt. There are men who have gone abroad, obtained training and contributed wonderfully towards the progress of the science of medicine and surgery. Here, if you provide them with all the facilities that they require. I have no doubt that they will do better than hitherto. Lack of facilities was the real reason for our backwardness in the contributions that we have made to medical science and surgery.

I listened to the opening prayer songs which your girls rendered : *niśśeṣa jāḍyāpahā.* In other words, the more important thing is ridding your mind of its diseases, ailments and the afflictions which our minds have. The aim of medical education should be not merely to cure

Address at the First Convocation of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, 4 February, 1963

physical suffering but should also be to rid the mind of its disorders. Most of the people we come across today suffer from some kind of neurosis or emotional disturbance. Mental illness is much more widespread today than physical illness, and the only way by which we can cure mental illness is by educating people in disciplined, orderly ways. A disciplined, ordered life makes for mental health, and if we have mental health, physical health will follow. The *Gītā* tells us : *aśāntasya kutaḥ sukhaṁ.* To a man who has no *śānti* or tranquillity of mind, how can there be any happiness in this world? Happiness is derived from *śānti,* from tranquillity—not by taking drugs and tranquillizers but by developing a decent, disciplined, ordered life with regular habits, and not being overcome by fear or depression. Our early Ayurvedic teacher Charaka says : "There is no limit to the science and knowledge of medicine." It is a perpetually growing thing. You cannot set any kind of limits to the advance of knowledge. The only limits to knowledge are those springing from ignorance, and if you are able to get rid of ignorance, you make further progress.

Here I was very pleased to know that you were engaged in great research projects. The results of these projects will be of great help to the advance of medical science and surgical skill. It is my hope that all the needs which this institution—which is a regular university—has, will be met in course of time and that this may grow into a first-class institution setting itself up as a model to others. Quality and not merely numbers, that must be our aim. We have ability, we have intelligence; if to them we add what I might call team work, the co-operative spirit, and suppress the habit of finding fault with others, we will grow and become an institution worthy of our country.

I congratulate the degree-winners and those who won medals, and wish them a very happy future. I must not omit adding a word of praise for the sense of devotion with which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has worked for this institution.

THE COMMON NEEDS OF HUMANITY

DR Briggs and friends : we are happy that this Congress is meeting in India. I have no doubt that the visitors from abroad will find something of interest in this country, and I have hopes that our own specialists in chest diseases will acquire greater knowledge of the subject by exchange of views with these noted visitors from abroad. I

Speech at the inaugural session of the VII International Congress on Diseases of the Chest, New Delhi, 20 February, 1963

wish them all a very happy stay in this country. I hope that they will not confine all their activities to the Congress but will also see something of the hospitals and the other work that is being done here.

This International Congress is truly international in scope and membership. It has members from 89 different countries, and its strength is nearly 7,000. We in this country have also contributed about 200 and we have five Chapters of this International Congress. Its work is humanitarian : the improvement of the health of men and women. That is what it proposes to do and what it has done during all its past existence. It cuts across boundaries of race, nation, creed and colour.

At a time like this when national sentiments are becoming so important, it is good to have such organizations which bring home to us the common needs of humanity as also the work which is being done for the improvement of the health of ordinary human beings in all these countries. It indirectly contributes to the unification of humanity. What we need for that is not merely political arrangements or economic alliances but an understanding in creative arts, in healing processes.

Dr Deshmukh has already referred to the prevalence of the disease of tuberculosis in this country. There are advanced countries from which tuberculosis has been rooted out. If it has happened in some countries, there is no reason why it should not happen in a country like ours. Its incidence is on the increase and it is not limited merely to the industrial areas. It is also to be found in the rural areas. Those people who live in a stunted and impoverished environment are liable to this disease. Of course, the other cardiac diseases too are becoming more and more prevalent. People, on account of the stress and strain of life, become the victims of cardiac affections. We, in our different Plans, are attempting to improve the conditions of health and sanitation. We are also trying to remove the malnutrition and under-nutrition which are the predisposing conditions of many of these diseases. Poverty, hunger and disease go together. If we want to combat diseases, we have also to remove the conditions which are responsible for the spread of these diseases.

In all our attempts to develop socially and economically, we have had the guidance of our Prime Minister. His social vision and his passionate concern for the welfare of human beings have been a source of inspiration for our work. I am, therefore, very pleased to request him to inaugurate this Congress.

PANDIT GOVIND BALLABH PANT

FRIENDS : this day happens to be the second death anniversary of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, and it is my duty to declare open this Hall erected in memory of a great and gifted statesman.

I had heard of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant for many years. I knew about his activities in the fight for freedom and the disabilities which he suffered as a result thereof, and which persisted till the end of his life. I knew him as the most accomplished Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh where he had undisputed sway over the people and worked that State into a homogeneous one. He earned the affection and respect of all types of people there.

I came to know him more intimately when he came to Delhi and became Home Minister and the Leader of the Rajya Sabha. For many years we worked together, he as the Leader, myself as the Chairman of that Sabha. He had the great gift of lucid exposition. He was able to disarm his opponents by a conciliatory and friendly attitude. He was undoubtedly a great parliamentarian.

More than that, he was a great administrator. Administration is a difficult task. In our ancient times we used to call them *dharma cintana,* people who had fair deal as their motto. A great administrator must be a fine human being. He must have the interests of the people at heart. It is that which Pandit Pant had. And I knew the way in which he administered several things brought under his sway.

So far as tribal welfare is concerned, Shri Shrikant and Shri Dhebar both spoke to you about the work and interest which Pandit Pant took in it. This problem has been with us from the beginning of our history. All these tribes were there, constituting different communities. What did we do for them ? We did not impose our views on them. We tried to help them to grow according to their own genius, we tried to make them transform their lives by the unconscious impact of the work done by other individuals. The *Bhagavadgītā* tells us :

na buddhibhedaṁ janayed
ajñānāṁ karmasaṅginām
joṣayet sarvakarmāṇi
vidvān yuktaḥ samācaran

If you find people who are ignorant and addicted to unhealthy practices, do not confuse their mind, do not go about disturbing the way in which they grow; but if the enlightened people behave in a decent way, that example will bring about a change in the character and

Speech on opening the Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant Hall, New Delhi, 7 March, 1963

beliefs and practices of the unenlightened. In that way, several tribes have been assimilated into our community. They were regarded as limbs of one body, each having its own distinct character. We should try to preserve the variety and diversity of these communities, but help them to get rid of practices which are revolting to our conscience or repugnant to our intelligence. Irrational, absurd and obsolete practices have to be abandoned. They are to be abandoned by force of example. Our whole tendency has been to do so gently and never to impose any kind of view on those people. That is the way in which this country has grown up, and her different communities have all been grouped together into one organic whole. National cohesion has been achieved in that particular manner, and I do hope that those who are members of this Sangh, those who work with these people, will have respect for them, will understand that they are not responsible for some of the practices in which they indulge, however much we may not like them, and that they are to be taken out of those things by force of example and not by dictates of any kind or by mere precept.

I hope that this Hall which is dedicated to the memory of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant will serve to inspire us to adopt the right methods in dealing with our tribals.

THE ROLE OF SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES

Friends : I am happy to be here and declare open this new building for small-scale industries. It is a building for housing small-scale industries, for conducting research in small-scale industries and for promoting small-scale industries. Those who have listened to the speech of your President will appreciate the way in which small-scale industries grew up in our country : associations were established and federations grew up. It shows the interest which the workers take in the Federation that they have contributed a very substantial sum for this new building.

A country like ours, mainly rural, has enough scope for small-scale industries. We require large-scale undertakings, but that does not mean that we have no need for small-scale industries.

I have visited countries like Japan and Switzerland where, in spite of their industrialization, small-scale industries make very rapid progress and give support to the large majority of the population. Here, if small-scale industries are to be properly organized, it is my hope that

Speech on opening the new building of the Federation of Associations of Small Industries of India, New Delhi, 19 April, 1963

polytechnics will be established in every district, both for boys and girls, for training them for employment in small-scale industries. There is no question that, while small-scale industries have been with us from the beginning of our history, it is for the first time that we are organizing them and that we are getting assistance from the Government of the country.

You have referred to my friend Shri K. C. Reddy as an unfailing friend of small-scale industries. It is our hope and desire that he will continue to render that service to you and that you will get from him all the support you need. I do hope that in this new building you will have a fresh impetus for doing your work and that soon our material poverty in the rural areas will be continuously diminished by the development of small-scale industries. With that earnest hope I declare open this building.

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

FRIENDS : on the 30th of April, 1960, a meeting was held in Rashtrapati Bhavan under the presidentship of Dr Rajendra Prasad, which decided to set up a Committee for the celebration of the birth centenary of Shri Motilal Nehru. Dr Rajendra Prasad consented to be the Patron of the Committee and I was asked to be the President of the Committee. I am here today as the President of the Motilal Nehru Centenary Celebrations Committee.

An Association was formed and it was registered, and it set forth a few objectives : first, to set up a National Memorial; second, to bring out the publication of Shri Motilal Nehru's biography, speeches and writings, and one of the objectives was to install a statue on the lawns of Parliament. It is in pursuance of this last named objective that we are here today.

Shri Roy Chowdhury, the well-known sculptor, has done a magnificent piece of work and we congratulate him on his achievement. May he have many more achievements to his credit in the years to come !

The services which Shri Motilal Nehru rendered to this country's struggle, progress and prosperity are many, varied and outstanding. But I am concerned with the special contribution which he made to the development of parliamentary institutions. He happened to be the Chairman of the All-Parties Committee which was asked to draft a Constitution for our country. That Constitution included, among other

Speech on presenting the statue of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Parliament House, New Delhi, 6 May, 1963

features, the development of parliamentary institutions, adult franchise, the declaration of rights and the setting up of a judiciary with a Supreme Court at its apex. Parliamentary democracy was the primary thing.

Faith in the infallibility of any individual or nation is at the root of all conflicts in this world. It breeds fanaticism, sets up dictatorships, brings about fascism of the mind which has often drenched this earth with blood and tears. It is, therefore, essential for us to avoid that kind of dogmatic attitude. A democratic attitude requires appreciation that the other man may possibly be right and that we ourselves may be in the wrong, an attitude of modesty, humility, good manners and charity. These are the essential qualities of a democratic frame of mind. If we wish to work democratic institutions successfully and satisfactorily, opinionatedness, dogmatism, an idea that we alone have the monopoly of truth and that others are revelling in the dark are things which we should avoid.

In international relations, this requires us to settle all outstanding differences by persuasion, negotiation and mediation. A climate of international sobriety has to be engendered if the world is to be made a happy home for the different nations of the world. In both these respects, Shri Motilal Nehru set us a great example. He was Leader of the Opposition in the Central Legislative Assembly for six years. The Opposition had a number of members belonging to different persuasions. He brought them all together, organized them into a single team and he made the then Assembly reject four successive budgets. He moved a Resolution on self-government for India which was passed by 76 votes to 48, the opponents being official and other nominees. But the great point about his achievement was that he had no malice in his heart, no bitterness, and that he commanded the confidence and affection of his followers and the respect and admiration of his opponents. The whole thing took place in a quiet and dignified way. There was no greater problem in our country then than the achievement of self-government. Here in the Central Assembly was waged a battle between Indian nationalism and foreign domination and he prepared the ground for the achievement of freedom. He has given us a magnificent example of dignified, disciplined behaviour which we should remember whenever we enter the precincts of Parliament.

I hope that this statue will remind us of his great example. He not only taught us about parliamentary democracy, but he knew that no freedom was worth its name unless it brought about national cohesion. He was aware of the way in which religion was confused with bigotry, a kind of superiority-complex that one had the monopoly of all truth and that others were groping in the dark; he was aware that it was one's duty to get rid of that feeling. He knew the dangers of such a kind of attitude. He protested against the mixing of religion

with politics and he insisted that all our brethren must be considered as citizens of our country and that they should not be looked down upon on the basis of caste. He asked us to build up a coherent society.

There is another thing which I should like to remind you all about : he served on the Skeen Committee, a committee which was entrusted with the setting up of National Defence Colleges. We are all working for a time when armies, etc., will not be necessary. But that time is still far away. But until that time comes, it is essential for us to keep our armies intact, to see that they are modern and well-equipped, so that no people can take liberties with us. It is therefore incumbent on us to remember what he did on the Skeen Committee.

The purposes of our Constitution, or society, are based on the principles which he framed. The purposes are there but we have to achieve them by our own drive, energy, enterprise, organization and by the stifling of the love of power and the love of self-interest, and by the development of rectitude. These are essential for the carrying out of the aims which we have set for ourselves.

Shri Motilal Nehru's life blended with the life of the country, and here under the guidance of the Prime Minister and his Government these fifteen years, we have been trying to translate these ideals into effective reality. It will take us a long time before we can say that democracy is functioning here irrespective of caste, community, race and religion. But every one of us must look upon himself as a dedicated servant of that noble cause which will lift us from out of our own pusillanimity and make us worthy of a great cause, a modern civilized society. I want to say on this occasion that the credit for the functioning of this Committee is due to a very large extent—I was about to say entirely—to my friend Shri Mohan Lal Saksena. He is the man who worked day in and day out, assisted by a band of workers—Shri Kailash Chand is here, Shri Raghuramaiah was in charge of one thing—all of them co-operated with him, but Shri Mohan Lal Saksena was the life and soul of this organization.

I would now like to make a formal presentation of this magnificent statue to the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, and request them to accept this statue on behalf of Parliament. And I express the hope that the example which Shri Motilal Nehru set for us will always be in our minds whenever we get into these premises.

THE DUALITY IN HUMAN NATURE

FRIENDS : as Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has just told you, the Centenary of the Red Cross is an important event in the onward march of humanity. We are proud to welcome delegates from distant parts of India to this meeting. I extend to you all a very hearty welcome.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has mentioned to you that this Centenary Day happens to be associated with Buddha's birthday, with enlightenment and salvation. His one purpose in life was *duḥkha nivṛttiḥ,* the ending of sorrow. He wanted to relieve men of the sufferings to which they are exposed. A later writer, Jaya Deva, talking about him said that he spread compassion : he looked upon war as one of the greatest calamities, if not the greatest, to which humanity was exposed. Victory breeds hatred : the conquered live in sorrow. Today there is not very much to distinguish victory from defeat in any kind of nuclear war. The emphasis that Buddha laid was on mental and moral revolution. We must try to cleanse our minds of greed, hatred and jealousy, and develop a spirit of compassion which looks upon the whole of humanity as one kind. This can be done only by an inner revolution. It is that transformation which he tried to effect.

Rajkumariji has spoken to you about what happened to Aśoka. He looked at the 1,50,000 dead in the battle of Kalinga and said, "No more bloodshed, not even in my kitchen," and he became a follower of the great Buddha. It is a similar experience through which Dunant, founder of the International Red Cross, passed. He saw 40,000 dying on the battlefield and said, "Why all this sorrow ? Can't we rid this world of suffering ? Can't we relieve people, who are lying mutilated, of their suffering to the extent possible ?" That was the initiative which brought into being the International Red Cross the Centenary of which we are celebrating today.

Though it was first instituted for the purpose of mitigating the sufferings of those afflicted by wars, the Society's labours were devoted to the relief of suffering whatever may be its cause—floods, earthquakes and epidemics. Wherever there is suffering, the Red Cross is active. Even in our country in that way it has done enormous work since its establishment in 1920. We have been told how the Red Cross is helping us in the present war by supplying to the jawans woollen garments, medicines and other amenities, and even repatriating prisoners of war—we have been just told that the number today is 1,364.

This thing suggests to us a quality of human nature : we inflict a wound, we try to heal it. The human soul is a battlefield between the creative and destructive impulses. You have there the tendency for evil

Speech at the Centenary Commemoration of the Red Cross Society, New Delhi, 8 May, 1963

and you have there the tendency for good. Look at the present situation in the world. The minds and hearts of human beings need to be changed. Otherwise, it is nuclear destruction that we have to face. And yet even when we know the consequences of our not changing, there is a certain amount of inertia, a certain amount of doggedness, a kind of obstruction in human nature which persists in old habits though it realizes the dangerous consequences. Therefore, what we have to do is to bring about a mental transformation, a moral revolution. Human beings must change. They have changed so often in the past that there is no reason why they should not change today. There is so much distress, so much of despair among the peoples of the world, a sense of impending disaster, and yet the change that we are called upon to make we are reluctant to make. Man, after all, consists of his thoughts, of his ideals, of his aspirations, and if these things are not altered, we only repeat the past. Only, the consequences of such repetition are more devastating today than at any time in the history of the world.

We have just listened to the invocation. There is only one distinction between good and evil. Doing good to others is the only virtue : doing harm to others is the only vice. All the great religions have taught us to be compassionate. They want us to look upon other people, even though they may be strangers to us, as brothers who have been separated from us by misunderstanding, by temporary estrangement.

I want to call attention again to the kind of duality which is persisting in the whole world : on the one side the building up of defence forces; on the other, the extending of the activities of humanitarian organizations like the Red Cross. It is this duality which leads to the disintegration of human society. We must overcome this duality if we are to live as human beings in this world.

We have to take seriously the advice that has been given to us by all the great prophets of the world; this cannot be done easily. Doing so costs us all a lot. No cross, no crown : you cannot have any victory unless you pass through intense suffering, the suffering of giving up old cherished ideals, giving up things with which you have grown up, things to which you are attached passionately and emotionally. Unless you are able to give them up, unless you are able to achieve a kind of development, you cannot have a better world than the one you have. The development of compassion is the only true quality which all the religions impose upon us. For that a revolution must start with each individual. Each one should ask himself whether he is doing the right thing by doing what he does, and then they try to resolve the duality in human nature and make every human being a human being. That is the purpose of the Red Cross.

I wish to pay homage to the excellent work which the Red Cross has done for the last hundred years. I hope that it will continue to do so in ever-increasing measure in the years to come.

THE SPIRIT OF COMPASSION

Friends : first of all, I should like to congratulate those who won distinctions and received medals and certificates of merit for the good work they had done.

I listened with great interest to the report which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur gave us about the St John Ambulance. I was rather surprised that more of our women are not taking to this work—that is somewhat strange. I thought that they embodied a capacity for sympathy, for suffering and the spirit of compassion; I feel that First Aid and Nursing should become part of their general education. Whatever courses of study they may take up later, this must be made an essential part of their education.

Recently a book was published under the title *The Decline of Womanhood.* Its contents referred to the decline of the spirit of compassion in the world. Because the spirit of compassion was going down, the author thought that womanhood was also going down. In other words, there is more of cruelty, frivolity, etc. It is, therefore, very necessary that we maintain the human quality of sympathy for suffering people. Whenever this subject comes up, I am reminded of a great incident which happened in our own history, according to the *Mahābhārata.* Draupadī, the heroine, has her five children killed by Aśvatthāmā, and then Arjuna comes and says, "I will get you the head of the murderer of your children." Draupadī tells him, "For heaven's sake, do not do it : let not Aśvatthāmā's mother weep even as I am weeping day and night. Do not touch Aśvatthāmā. Let his mother, Gautamī, live in peace and comfort . . ." That is the spirit of compassion. That is the spirit of closeness to nature, closeness to reality. It is that spirit which has to grow if this world has to become a really civilized place. That is what we should do, and I hope that our young women will take to this St John Ambulance work and train themselves for that kind of humanitarian work.

Yesterday we had the International Red Cross Society function. We have today the Indian Red Cross one. I think it is a prelude to the sort of thing which we should have to develop according to our own genius so far as the country is concerned and co-operate with other countries so far as world welfare is concerned. Just as ordinary human beings have given up resort to violence and look to a central authority for protecting them from aggression and from violence, nations, too, will have to look to a central authority for the preservation of peace and order between nations. Such a thing will have to be established. It is the will of the universe, it is the natural culmination of the historical

Speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Indian Red Cross Society and the St John Ambulance Association, New Delhi, 9 May, 1963

development through which we are passing. It is bound to happen. All that we have to do is to do our best to bring about that achievement.

The International Red Cross cuts across races, national frontiers. You heard Rajkumari Amrit Kaur tell us how the Indian Red Cross cooperated with the Chinese Red Cross in the matter of the repatriation of Indian prisoners of war. She also gave us several instances in which we were able to assist our own jawans—our sick and our wounded; and even the other jawans were provided with the amenities they needed, vitamins and medical necessaries. She told us that she spent nearly fifteen lakh rupees in this enterprise, of which seven lakh rupees came from outside.

When humanitarian causes come up, people forget their differences. It is proper that they should forget their differences. They should believe in humanity as being above all nations, that the suffering of one individual is as bad as the suffering of any other individual. Unless we are able to develop this sensitiveness to suffering, we are not really civilized beings. The mark of civilization is concern for the well-being of others, sensitiveness to the sufferings of other people.

The Red Cross, therefore, is an illustration, a foretaste, so to say, of the coming order of things. We should adopt the attitude of the Red Cross, the spirit of compassion and concern for the well-being of others. You are dejected and depressed because there are other people who are depressed and dejected in this world. Unless you have that kind of sympathy for other people, you do not realize your own true humanity.

It has been my experience to speak under different auspices—Christian churches, mosques, Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples—without any injury to my intellectual conscience or any compromising of my spiritual conviction. I have done it with spontaneity, without any kind of effort on my part. It only shows that there is one God above all gods, that we may not belong to this particular denomination or that, but that we belong to the one household of God.

If we are the offspring of the One Supreme, if we are cut from the same rock, there cannot be a difference between *mitra* (friend), and *amitra* (foe). These are differences which ought to be subordinated to the one ultimate fact of the oneness of human beings. You will find that these distinctions which separate us are more or less superficial, and that when we go deep into the sorrows and sufferings of human beings, their ideals and aspirations, their joys, their hopes and their fears, it is the same human heart which beats everywhere. Let us realize the hungry heart and the searching mind—they are there beneath everyone's exterior, and when other people suffer, we should go out and try to help them to the best of our ability. The Red Cross symbolizes this spirit, and I do hope that its spirit will spread till it comprehends the whole world.

HIND KUSHT NIVARAN SANGH

We have listened with great interest to the report of your Chairwoman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. I congratulate all the authorities on the successful work they have achieved in the year 1962.

In this new world, health, like everything else, is indivisible. There is always a susceptibility to disease so long as there are people suffering from disease in any part of the world. It should, therefore, be our endeavour to root it out completely from the world.

The Annual Report just gave out that though leprosy is prevalent in almost all parts of the world, it is much more prevalent in South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America—countries which are economically backward. So, if we wish to prevent the spread of leprosy, we must raise the living standards of our people.

"The nobler a soul is, the more objects of compassion it hath." Individuals of high quality are those who are most sensitive to the suffering of others. The disfigurement, the disablement which leprosy brings about require to be rooted out. The physical efficiency of a nation depends on the state of health of its people. The miracles of modern science, the new drugs discovered, the scientific treatment adopted, will all make it possible for us to get rid of this disease.

It is a matter of satisfaction that many foreign missions are working here in the humanitarian work of checking the spread of leprosy—Belgian, German, Danish and Swedish; and now the Japanese Mission will help us in this task. I have just received a letter from the President of the German Federal Republic, Dr Heinrich Luebke, enclosing a cheque for DM 10,000 for this cause of bringing relief to people suffering from leprosy. I am passing it on to your Chairwoman.

I congratulate you on the work done and wish you well in the future.

ACTORS IN INDIA

I may tell you that our motion picture people are much more popular than the politicians in our country.

Once upon a time we tried to raise some funds for the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. The Prime Minister led a Cricket

Speech presiding over the Annual General Meeting of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh, New Delhi, 9 May, 1963

Speech at the dinner given by the Motion Picture Association of America, Los Angeles, 8 June, 1963

Eleven and I, as the Vice-President, led another Cricket Eleven. So, we had a match. We made about 30,000 rupees. The idea occurred to us that if we asked the film actors and actresses to stage another cricket match, we might perhaps do better. And we organized one and we did much better . . . we made thrice that amount!

And if we go to any shows or performances, and if we're asked to preside over them or open them, when we enter, there will be a mild noise, but when an actor or actress comes up, loud noise. That's what we find in our country.

So, you understand they have got a great position in our country and they are influential and we nominate some representatives of cultural organizations to our legislatures. Mr Prithvi Raj Kapoor was a member of our Upper House of Parliament; he's one of our leading actors. And Rukmini Devi, one of the great dancers of our country, was nominated to the Upper House, which corresponds to the Senate here. So we give them an important position in our public life.

Then your pictures are seen in our country . . . after our own, second in importance will be yours. And Mr Freeman shows—because he happens to be in this profession, conducting these things and managing the show—that he is not only frank but he is young. He is Mr Young Frank Freeman. That's what he is.

Undoubtedly, we have learned a great deal. We have our actors and actresses, some of them by nature actresses and actors, others have to learn. But those who learn never come up to the standard of those who are born actors and actresses. Many of our women are actresses! That's what they are.

Yet, the motion picture is there to entertain, as Mr Warner said, it is there to instruct and to elevate also. It thrills you by its appeal to the senses, colour, rhythm, and some kind of idea gets into your mind and therefore knowledge is imparted. But much more than all these things is the way in which they make you somewhat different. If a true work of art is there, it is a work which will humanize the individual, endow him with courage and compassion, and make him see things differently from what he used to before he saw the picture. It gives you new eyes to see with.

Many of our people are content with mere entertainment, an appeal by colour, rhythm, dance, music, etc. Others are trying to realize more, to give you an intellectual dialogue. That has its place. But the most powerful kind of impression that any work of art can make is to move you, to devastate your being, to overwhelm you, so to say, to transform you altogether, to remake you. If it does that, it has succeeded as a work of art. If it doesn't do that, it may appeal to the senses, attract your mind, but will never touch your spirit.

Everyone, whatever may be his profession, should aim at excellence in the particular line which he adopts. There must be a purpose; otherwise, life will be vacuous and futile. Whatever work we undertake, we must aim at excellence. If you don't aim at that, there is nothing there, no inward shrine where you can worship all alone yet feel yourself not to be solitary but to have some kind of great company. In a crowd you can be lonely, but if you are solitary and have a purpose in your life, you'll never be lonely, you'll always have great company.

I have no doubt that those who take to this profession, as I tell my people in my country, will also have some kind of purpose. It's one means of bringing nations together. That's what it is.

I know a little of the film industry in my country because for the last so many years I've been giving the awards to the best actors, to the best directors, to the best producers.

We are good in some of these things, but in the technical side of photography, scenic arrangements, etc., we are somewhat deficient. And I think sooner or later we'll try to cover up those deficiencies also and make good.

RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP

I THANK you for your kind words of welcome, and I am happy to be here and open this Zila Parishad for which the foundation-stone was laid by your Chief Minister, Shri Sanjiva Reddy.

It is true that the world is getting closer together and anything that happens anywhere affects all other parts of the world; but any kind of world reconstruction can take place only with individual reformation. From small beginnings we have to grow to the realization of our ideals. Therefore, the functions of institutions like these are vital for national progress and security.

We have suffered in this country on account of fissiparous tendencies. A time has come when we should all feel that we are members of one whole and that whatever hurts any individual hurts others. It is my hope that in these difficult days sectional loyalties will be subordinated to the larger loyalties of the nation. You can do good work in these institutions which, though small in size, are of great importance. Each one of us must feel a sense of responsibility for the progress of our country; self-government institutions like this one can help

Speech on opening the new building of Zila Parishad, Nizamabad, 29 July, 1963

us a great deal. The days when much was surrendered by many to a few are over; each one should regard himself as a responsible, free citizen of a country which is proud of its heritage and which is eager to build up its future.

DR M. S. KRISHNAN

FRIENDS : I have two small functions : the first is the presentation of this volume to Dr M. S. Krishnan, and the second the handing over of this cheque to Dr K. R. Ramanathan.

I am glad that I am here and have this opportunity to congratulate Dr Krishnan on a life full of work and achievement. His work is well known wherever geology and geophysics are studied, not only in this country but in other parts of the world. Whereas we have made some progress in the other branches of science, I do not think that we have done considerable work in this particular branch in which Dr Krishnan is a specialist. I have no doubt that, in the years to come, he will continue to contribute to geology and geophysics—it is not the end of his scientific career because we are all much older men and we are still doing something or other.

While politics and economics divide people, science and scholarship bring them together. That is why his work is appreciated by scientific associations all over the world. In the 17th century, to physics there were contributions by Galileo, an Italian, Copernicus, a Pole, Kepler, a German, and Newton, an Englishman. The nationalist divisions and phobias were not so strong in those days. Today, too, we see that in research in outer space, the USA and the USSR are co-operating. That shows that in the scientific world we forget the narrow divisions of race and nationality and try to work together for the advancement of learning and the improvement of human conditions. Science gives us not merely knowledge but power to use knowledge for the betterment of humanity. That is what we are attempting to do.

In our country today, we are trying to develop our natural resources. Geology and geophysics come very close to each other. My first knowledge of geology was as a student of logic when we were told that logic means logic, that logic applied to the earth's crust is geology, logic applied to plant growth is botany, and logic applied to the human mind is psychology. And now we go below the earth and discover many things. I have no doubt that the knowledge which Dr Krishnan and his

Speech on releasing a scientific volume in honour of Dr M. S. Krishnan, Hyderabad, 3 August, 1963

colleagues have contributed will lead to the advancement of our country.

It is my fervent wish that Dr Krishnan may live for many years and go on doing useful work till the end of a long life. I wish to extend to you, Dr Krishnan, my felicitations, and I congratulate you on the work you have done, and wish you well in the future.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF NEPAL

YOUR Majesties, friends : it is a pleasure for me to be here and inaugurate this Exhibition of Nepalese Arts and Handicrafts.

His Majesty has been discussing all sorts of prosaic problems with our leaders and this event takes us to the poetry of life.

If you want to understand the minds and hearts of a people, you have to study their art, architecture and crafts. You have here a small exhibition of Nepalese arts and crafts. I have no doubt that when you see the exhibits, you will all feel impressed by the real artistic talents of the Nepalese people. I have pleasure in inaugurating the Exhibition.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

FRIENDS : it gives me very great pleasure to be here this evening and unveil the statue of Sardar Patel. It is only appropriate that Delhi should have a memorial to Sardar Patel. Shri Patil gave you a long list of the memorials raised to Sardar Patel's memory in different parts of India. But the greatest memorial to him is united India itself. As the Prime Minister has said, he is the architect of India's unity. Through his persuasive power, diplomatic skill, political adroitness, he was able to bring about the administrative unity of this country, which is the essential base for building up a strong India. This administrative unification has to be transformed into emotional integration and national cohesion. We have been trying to do it all these years.

I do not pretend to have a very intimate knowledge of Sardar Patel. I had known him for a number of years; when we worked together in the Constituent Assembly, I knew him a little better. He was a man

Speech inaugurating the Exhibition of Nepalese Arts and Crafts, Azad Bhavan, New Delhi, 29 August, 1963

Speech unveiling the statue of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, New Delhi, 18 September, 1963

of few words. He possessed always clarity, conviction and prudence. He belonged to an agricultural family and showed his deep interest in the welfare of the peasants. The campaigns which he organized under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi were all intended to bring together the people of the localities concerned, to bind them together, to make them have one single purpose, to make them subordinate their caste and communal differences and work as one whole. That is the task which yet requires to be done.

He was a courageous patriot, a man of great wisdom in administration. I remember that three of our great leaders at one time were Chairmen of three different municipalities, or corporations as they are called today. Rajen Babu was the Chairman of Patna Municipality; our Prime Minister was Chairman of Allahabad Municipality; and Sardar Patel was Chairman of Ahmedabad Municipality. Their selfless labours and their organizing skill were known to all people. Now we have achieved this administrative unification. Something more needs to be done if our country is to become a first-class power, and not become a second-class or third-class power : complete coherence and integration, subordination of our minor differences to the one great concept of India as a living part of humanity. In the Independence pledge it is said that the British brought on us a four-fold disaster—political, economic, cultural and spiritual. Now that we have assumed control over the country, it is these four which we have to demolish.

Democracy is on trial everywhere. A nation which is despotic within itself tends to be aggressive outside, and if we want to develop a peaceful kind of polity, we have to develop the quality of true democracy, of true brotherhood, a sense of fellow-feeling. Carlyle called the British Parliament a talking shop. Whatever we talk, the ideas which we express, the beliefs which we cherish, our gestures, are all carried to different parts of the country. So the example which we set must be very carefully set and people must think twice before they lower the dignity of Parliament. Abuse is not strong language; impertinence is not courage; flattery is not courtesy. We should avoid these things and speak with respect and dignity, and even when we criticize, we should have sufficient respect for the people whom we criticize. That is very essential. For the safeguarding of democracy, these qualities have to be developed.

Democracy is a moral concept, it is not merely a political arrangement. It is something which is pledged to the defence of truth and justice. If we compromise with evil, with injustice, with untruth, we may gain a temporary advantage; but permanent danger will result. We should, therefore, be extremely careful in carrying on our administration. Administration does not mean high-handedness. It means a definite concern for the welfare of the people. That is something which

we have to develop, and it is my hope that in our Parliament we will do our utmost to maintain the level of dignity and decency, and set an example not only to our own people but to others also.

We have said that the economic standards will have to be raised. Unless we fight the demon of poverty which is responsible ultimately for caste and communal differences, unless we are able to bring down hunger, unemployment and disease, we will not be able to raise the economic standards of our people. So the root cause of all our troubles—caste trouble, communal trouble, low caste, Harijan, touchable, untouchable—may be ultimately traced to the extreme poverty from which most of our people suffer. If we are able to raise the level of the living standards of our people, this suffering will not continue. Not only are standards necessary : each individual is a keystone in the arch of this country. Our people are the most valuable asset which we possess, and unless we are able to give them some kind of cultural outlook, some sense of belonging to a great nation which has had great traditions, our education will not be regarded in any sense as complete.

People generally say that they do not believe in religion. There is scepticism in matters of belief; there is a lack of guides so far as our moral conduct is concerned; and there is no sense of values. Religion is not something which is an aside or a parenthesis. It is the deepest part of our being. In all our activities, if we live from the dimension of depth, we are religious. The Infinite or Supreme is the deepest part of our being. We must work not on the surface but from the ultimate depths. Life from depth is authentically a religious life. If you are able to give to your children that kind of outlook, they will not be carried away by the sophistications and the scepticism of the modern world. We will all become really, deeply, authentically, religious in our nature.

The defence of democracy, the defence of the moral values with which democracy is bound up, the raising of the living standards of our people, the giving of a proper cultural outlook to our young men and women as also the giving to them a sense of depth in their relations with their neighbours—that is what we aim at; and it is my earnest hope that in this country we will have this proper orientation. A life like Sardar Patel's reminds us of the self-sacrificing labours of one of the great makers of modern India. His devotion to duty, his disciplined obedience, his courage and his preparedness to throw away his life—these are all qualities which we have to learn from his example. I hope that this statue will remind generations of Indians of the great example which he set and will inspire them to do likewise. I have great pleasure in unveiling this statue.

DR P. V. RAJAMANNAR

FRIENDS : it gives me very great pleasure to be here and unveil the bust of my old friend Dr P. V. Rajamannar. Shri Raja Iyer has already spoken about his many qualities of courtesy, modesty, good manners, wide erudition and the way in which he dealt with lawyers, his colleagues and the people with whom he came in contact.

Shri T. Muthuswami Iyer was the first Indian Judge of this High Court and you have naturally a statue of him in the High Court premises. Before we attained Independence, there was no permanent Indian Chief Justice. Many acted as the Chief Justice but no one was confirmed. It was Dr Rajamannar's good fortune that he was confirmed in 1948 and continued as Chief Justice till 1961.

Nowadays the rule of law has to be maintained more rigorously than ever before. In a civilized society, it is the laws that contribute to the civilized character of society. It is not the men but the laws; it is the principle of *dharma* which must be regarded as superior to all men and to all other things. In the London Criminal Court you have a figure of a blindfolded person holding in one hand a sword and in the other the scales of justice, thereby affirming that justice will be meted out, irrespective of persons, of friend or foe, and irrespective of affection or goodwill. What you have to carry out is justice, pure and simple. If justice is to be maintained, if the rule of law is to be maintained in the country, those who occupy positions of responsibility must be persons of integrity, of detachment, of objectivity; they must not swerve from their path on account of political or extra-judicial considerations, but deal out justice. It is very essential, if our infant democracy is to grow into an efficient one, that the rule of law should be maintained.

I am glad that Dr Rajamannar has set a great tradition in this matter. He began his Chief Justiceship after Independence was attained. The jurisdiction of the courts was extended even to disputes between the citizen and the State, and among the States themselves. In all such matters it is very difficult for human beings to be absolutely objective and impartial. Dr Rajamannar maintained that dignity. His judgments will be remembered for long for the wealth of learning and for the felicity of diction in which his judgments were couched. I have no doubt that his name will be remembered for a very, very long time.

Dr Rajamannar was not merely a judge. His heart was in literature. He has written a number of stories and plays in the Telugu language and has earned great distinction and renown. Now that he

Speech on unveiling the bust of Dr P. V. Rajamannar, at the High Court, Madras, 26 September, 1963

is retiring from the high office of Chief Justice, I hope that he will devote his time to the enrichment of Telugu literature and thereby to the enrichment of Indian literature as well.

I should like to add one more word : this occasion must give his father, who is present before us, pride and joy at the achievement of his son. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that he is here to see this function. I have very great pleasure in unveiling the bust of Dr Rajamannar.

THE MADURAI MILK SUPPLY SCHEME

FRIENDS : it gives me very great pleasure to be here this evening and lay the foundation-stone of the Madurai Milk Colony.

You have listened to the accounts given by the previous speakers of the Colony's extent and scope, and the possibilities. The representative of UNICEF said that it was truly an international venture. It has been made possible by the co-operation of the Madras Government, the Government of India and the United Nations. The FAO had also something to do with it.

If there is one thing which is remarkable in our age, it is not nuclear weapons; it is not the conflicts between ideologies, but it is the getting together of the peoples of the world, the realization of world responsibility for whatever happens in any part of the world. There was a time when it was said that a country could not be half slave and half free. Today we say that the world cannot be half free and half slave, half hungry and half plentiful. Each one's responsibility is that of every other among us. When the question is raised : who is our neighbour ?, the answer is : whoever suffers, whoever needs succour, whoever requires help, is our neighbour. The only distinction that we have in this world is the distinction not of race, nationality or religion, but that between a civilized human being and an uncivilized human being : the civilized human being has a broad mind and he is hurt by the sufferings of all humanity which are regarded by him as his own. The uncivilized man is callous to the sufferings of others and goes his way exploiting the sufferings of other people and making himself rich at their expense.

The existence of the different United Nations agencies is a symbol of the growing unity of the world, and this particular venture is an illustration of that growing, merging unification. We have had

Speech on laying the foundation-stone of the pasteurization plant of the Madurai Milk Supply Scheme, 27 September, 1963

this unification at several levels—physical, economic and political. But we know that nothing great can be built unless we have assured the physical basis of life. We must live first before we can live nobly or well.

Many of our people in this country suffer from malnutrition and are susceptible to all sorts of diseases, and the output of their work is much less than it would have been if they had been well fed, well protected and well nourished. This is an attempt to show that physical efficiency must be safeguarded before other forms of efficiency can arise in this world. Disease, poverty, malnutrition—these are the problems which face us; and in solving these problems the Government and the people must work together; their interests are identical.

It is a matter of very great satisfaction to me that the Madras Government, under the leadership of Shri Kamaraj, has been doing great work in this direction. Shri Kamaraj has no other interest than the well-being of the people of this part of the country; and he has devoted all his energies to that particular purpose. When a statesman's epitaph comes to be written, we do not ask how much he took from his country but how much he gave his country. That is the true test of greatness of spirit. It is this spirit which has to be extended to other parts of the country. We have much of political instability, maladministration, etc. We should get rid of all that. A country is judged by the kind of administration it has. If we have a clean and good administration, small things will be forgiven.

Here you have a great attempt at alleviating the condition of the poor, at giving them the nutrition essential for the physical efficiency of our people. It is my hope that this will be achieved here very soon. I am told that the Scheme will be brought into operation by 1965—possibly early in 1965. It is an attempt at co-operation—co-operation among our own people, co-operation among the milk producers and those who consume milk.

The account that has been just read out from the New Zealand National Committee for protecting people from hunger shows how people in distant parts of the world feel for the needs of our countrymen also. This is a new situation which has arisen in the world. Once upon a time if anything happened in China, nobody, say in America, ever bothered. No country can be isolated any longer. What happens in one part of the world affects all the other parts. So it is a new situation that has arisen; it is a challenge; it is an opportunity. If there is abolition of slavery in one country, it should be done all over the world. If there is poverty in some parts of the country, that is a necessary condition for unrest and upheaval in other parts of the country. If there is malnutrition or disease in some parts of the country, the susceptibility to the spread of that disease will be there in the other parts also.

It is, therefore, evidence of the vital fact that what affects human beings in one part of the world affects all human beings.

We are growing towards a new world. It is being formed through economic associations, political arrangements and through the exchange of thoughts at the level of mind and spirit. All these things are now contributing to the development of a single world. That is the will of the age. If you study the course of events, you will see that this is recognized. The trends of the modern age point in the same direction. If it is not to be in our time, at least in the succeeding generation there will be a world authority, a world authority with executive, legislative and police functions, which will take away from national institutions the power of mobilizing nuclear weapons and inflicting injury on others. We are struggling along; the direction that we are taking is the proper one and the goal laudable. You have here, as an instance, both co-operation among our own people and co-operation with other parts of the world.

You live in a temple city. Your work must be permeated by the spirit of faith. Service of God is service of man. So this combination of faith and work in the city of Madurai is a combination reminding us that mankind will never be complete unless men develop their spiritual dimensions; and no spiritual direction can be adopted by people unless they are well fed, well housed, and well clothed. These things form one whole. Faith and work must go together, and so you have here both faith in the Supreme and the service of man. These things are illustrated by the work which you have attempted, and I wish you success in your enterprise.

SEA CADET CORPS

FRIENDS: I confess to complete ignorance of the splendid work that is being done in this organization. I am told it does not cost the Government even a single pie. The boys and girls of their own will join this organization, and retired officials of the Navy give them training. This has been going on for nearly twenty-five years. What we need most in our country today is co-operative effort and disciplined behaviour, and this organization gives you both these things. I have no doubt that you will be of considerable help in building up our country.

Speech at the inauguration of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Sea Cadet Corps, Bombay, 1 October, 1963

SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

FRIENDS : it is a great pleasure for me to be here and congratulate this organization on celebrating its Diamond Jubilee.

I have known some of the workers. I have known them somewhat well : K. Natarajan and Vital Chandavarkar—I have met them both at Madras and Bombay. I know the work which they have been doing.

When the organizers of the Indian National Congress found it necessary to have a National Social Conference, I thought that that was a significant insight on their part. In 1885 the Congress was founded. In 1887 you had the National Social Conference, founded by Mr Justice Ranade. Our political subjection was the direct result of our social incoherence and our social dissensions. From the beginning of our history down to this day, we have been very vigorous in proclaiming great ideals; but so far as our social institutions were concerned, we have fallen short of those great ideals. You heard just now the prayer song from *Īśa Upaniṣad : Īśā vāsyam idaṁ sarvaṁ yatkiñca jagatyāṁ jagat, tena tyaktena bhuñjīta mā gṛdhaḥ kasya svid dhanaṁ*. This whole world is inhabited by God. There are men in this country professing different religions but all these religions are united in affirming the spiritual character of every human individual. We have *tat tvam asi*— that art thou. The *citta* is to be found in every individual who is capable of attaining both. Prophet Muhammad tells us that God is nearer to us than the very artery of our neck. Almost all religions are unanimous in asserting that every individual should be regarded as a candidate for spiritual development. But what has been the actual practice ? The prayer which was uttered today tells us that we should not develop hatred : *mā vidviṣāvahai*. We must develop fellow-feeling and try to look upon everyone as friendly to us. These are great ideals, but the way in which we practise them reflects discredit on us all. If we fell victims to foreign invasions, to the exploiter, to the invader, we should not throw the entire blame on the invader or the foreigner. We should throw the blame on ourselves. We are divided among ourselves, fighting one another, not developing any kind of unity. How did we treat our women ? It is always well for us to say that they are as good as men. In ancient times women were entitled to the sacred thread, to study the Vedas, to meditation on *Gāyatrī japa*. But during recent centuries, when we fell victims to outside invaders, these were not practised by our women.

There is such a thing as the logic of history. The world is not in the hands of blind inconsequence. There is a law of mystery. Nations rise and fall, not according to the way in which the stars decide, but

Speech inaugurating the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Bombay Social Reform Association, Bombay, 1 October, 1963

according to the way in which their citizens behave. That is the real responsibility which the citizens have. It is, therefore, very right that we should emphasize social solidarity and social equality as the primary qualities for national survival and national existence.

You said, "Today in the present emergency we are all trying to get together." Are we ? You yourself referred to the existence of the caste spirit, of groupism and of personal rivalries. All these things are still breaking up our society. It has not had the feeling of belonging to one whole. That kind of concept has not been engendered in the conscience of boys and girls, and, therefore, of men and women. When children come out of the mint of nature, they are as fresh as snow. You can write on them anything you want. You can mould their hearts and desires in any manner you please. *You* are a Brahmin, *he* is not a Brahmin; *you* are a man, *she* is a woman; therefore, the privileges are lower there and higher here. There are the people who are regarded as "untouchables." These feelings are there. When I was a student, there used to be discussion on : "Is social reform to be on religious lines or on rational lines ? Should we adopt a religious programme, or are we to do everything by the light of reason ?" Ultimately some great people felt that religion was not irrational or anti-rational. So reform could be carried on on both religious and rational lines. Let us look at the fate of the untouchables in our country. We can quote easily any number of passages. Vedānta Deśika tells us : even the dog-eater, if he has love of God in him, is as good as the highest in the land. If he has not the love of God, even a man who pretends to be a sanyasi is lower than him. What is it that he emphasized ? It is love of God that he emphasized, not the religion to which one may belong, or the race or caste, but what one's heart and mind are like. Is a man civilized ? Has he a sense of spiritual values or love of the Divine ? If he has these, he is as good as anyone else. If he has not these, he is as low as anybody else. That is the way in which Vedānta Deśika emphasized these truths.

You are right in saying that we have introduced into our Constitution many of these social reforms. But let me tell you that enacting a law is different from implementing it in practice. It is easy for us to get a law passed; but it is difficult to see to it that the law is embodied in our daily lives and institutions. Have we done so even today ? We say that we have proscribed untouchability. It is forbidden in law. But is it forbidden in practice ? Do we not still have places in this country where untouchability is being practised; what are the steps taken to proscribe it altogether, to see to it that reality conforms to the ideals that we profess ?

Again we have asserted the equality in law of men and women. We have done so, but are we in practice establishing it ? Are we making

women feel that there is a sense of absolute equality between men and women in daily life and public life?

Our religion has been a progressive one. Every religion, if it is alive today, is so because it is perpetually renewing itself. Any religion becoming static, becomes stagnant and dies. The religion which has come down to us over many centuries is a religion which is perpetually refashioning itself, making itself responsive to the requirements of the modern age and trend of new developments. From stage to stage we have passed. We find in the Ṛg Veda a particular system. We go to the Upaniṣads; we immediately cross over what the Ṛg Veda asserted. We go to the *Bhagavadgītā*—we find a catholic and comprehensive religion. We go to Śaṁkarācārya. A man is entitled to salvation by virtue of his individuality, of humanity. Every human being, man or woman, high caste or low caste, is entitled to salvation, says Śaṁkarācārya; and he was one of the great advocates of social progress. He condemns ceremonials. He went to Mandana Miśra's place, where a *yajña* was being performed, and Mandana Miśra asked him, "Who are you? Why, you shaven one, you have no faith in ceremonials, why have you come to my place?"

And when a dispute arose between the two, it was Mandana Miśra's wife Bhāratī who was called upon to arbitrate between the two, and her judgment was not in favour of her husband but in favour of Śaṁkarācārya. In the western world they say that the Church stands to the State as the Hindu wife stands to her husband. The Hindu wife did not stand for her husband. She stood for truth and said, "Śaṁkarācārya is right."

Without the attainment of truth, it will not be possible for you to attain any kind of freedom. True spiritual freedom can be attained only by proper enlightenment. *Jñānāt mokṣaṁ,* not by *yajña* or ceremonials. Important as these things are, they do not constitute the true liberation of the human individual. You require something more for that—the reawakening of the soul of man, the remaking of his whole nature, the transformation of his nature so that he becomes quite a different man when he is truly liberated. The enfranchised human beings are free from all prejudices, they do not think of caste or community; they look upon the whole of mankind as one kindred and it is such people alone that are entitled to be called truly religious and not the people who talk of religion and observe differences in their daily lives.

It is essential that the efforts to bring social institutions into conformity with our ethical and religious ideals should be kept up. Crucifixion is the process that is going on perpetually. Crucifixion is not a process which occurs only once in a lifetime, it occurs every day. You have to crucify yourself, surrendering the pet prejudices and favourite

things which you happen to possess if you want to make any kind of progress in this world.

We had Rāmānand; we had Kabīr and Nānak; and we have had recently Gandhiji and Ramakrishna. What were they? They were the people who proclaimed the equality of man. It was Swami Vivekananda who criticized Kerala in strong terms because people there were practising untouchability, unapproachability. That is what they were doing. Our true religious ideals speak in a different way. If we take hold of the framework of the ideals and discard institutions which are not in consonance with those ideals and have the courage of conviction to practise what we believe in, this world will become a different place from what it happens to be.

You say that we are still struggling against so many fissiparous tendencies in this country. That is obvious, everybody knows it. Anybody who has watched the elections recently would have been struck by the fact how communal candidates had to be put up in places where certain communities predominated. We still believe that the people will vote for the candidates who belong to their particular communities. That feeling is still there and we think that we help in the rebuilding of this country if we helped our particular communities to advance. These are things which have to be discarded. This process is a perpetual process. Modernity is not something which has come to us today; it has been there from the beginning of our history. There will always be the orthodox and there will always be the progressives, and the world owes all its greatest achievements to the non-conformists, to the people who are not orthodox, who are not wedded to the vested interests. It is they who have pushed the world along, and if the world happens to be a better place than what it was, it is because our social conscience has been aroused. We have to treat human beings as human beings. When anaesthesia was introduced, the bishops did not want it to be adopted; but a great theologian, when asked to say what were the great things which he had known in his life-time, said that they were the decay of Christian theology and the discovery of anaesthesia. That is what I believe with him. Every religion has this crust on it which has to be broken if it is to be alive; if it is not to fade away, it will have to appeal to the enlightened conscience of man.

It is my hope that this Association, which has had nearly sixty years of existence and has done good work and feels satisfied that some of its great demands have been incorporated in the statute-book, will see to it that what is incorporated therein is realized in everyday life.

When you talk about a uniform civil code for this country, if you put it to vote, the enlightened people will say "yes," the unenlightened will say, "There are certain privileges which we have in our personal law; do not touch us." That is the position in which we are placed. It

is essential that you should go in for social education, education not merely in the political sense of the term but in that of training the conscience of humanity, making people wonder whether they are truly human beings when they do certain things which are repugnant to the conscience of our own people. That is the only test : *ātmasantuṣṭa*. Even Manu tells you : Veda is all right, *smṛti* is all right, but the satisfying of the conscience of humanity, of man's *antarātman*, is one of the great sources of *dharma*. If people have any doubt about what they should do in a particular context, their authority should be intuition, the insight into their nature. It is that insight that has to be developed in our people. It is only then that human beings will be truly human and not mechanically minded, merely repeating what other people have said. That is my hope, and my earnest desire is that you will be able to work out some such idea and educate our whole country. In Calcutta you have the Brahmo Samāj; here you have the Prārthanā Samāj. Both are attempts to cleanse your religion of its excrescences. If you want to get rid of these, purify your religion so that you may have something with intellectual self-respect and ethical integrity. That is what we wish to do and the Prārthanā Samāj had its root in this part of the country and many of you are workers. I knew them a little and I feel that we owe them much. We remember it today after sixty years of this Association's existence. This hall where D. K. Karve tried to save the lives of our women and the lives of our widows, this hall and his work require to be commemorated today, and I hope that the work of all these people will inspire you to carry on with courage and strength hereafter.

THE GOSAMVARDHANA SEMINAR

FRIENDS : it is a great honour to me to be called upon to open the new Cow Centre and inaugurate the Seminar on Gosamvardhana. You are doing this on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday. No aspect of our national life escaped his attention. He was, first and foremost, a religious man. Politics was for him religion in action. When I say that he was a religious man, I do not mean to suggest that he was given to ritualistic religion or priestcraft or even philosophical discussions. In one of his great books he wrote : "For the last thirty years I have been struggling to see God face to face." To realize the presence of the Divine in his own lifetime, with his own eyes to see God—that was his constant endeavour.

In this country we have priestly religion, philosophical religion and

Speech at the inauguration of the Gosamvardhana Seminar and the opening of the Gosamvardhana Trust Cow Unit, Bombay, 2 October, 1963

prophetic religion. The real crux of the matter is the prophetic one. We learn ritual, we learn arguments but our ultimate aim is to pass to realization, to find out with our own eyes and with our own soul the truth of things. We have a great statement in the *Mahābhārata*: you may have bathing places and have your baths, you may go to pilgrim centres or worship images made of clay and stone; if they purify you, they purify you after a long time; but the sadhus, saints and prophets, they purify you at first sight. The sadhu or the saint is the true man of God. All others are trying to have some spirit of God inculcated in them. If you believe in that kind of religion, a religion which means the realization of the Supreme, seeing God with you soul's eye, you will not quarrel with the names you give to the Divine or the paths you adopt towards meeting the Divine. What is called secularism is sometimes mistaken for neglect of religion or indifference to religion. It means this : the aim of religion is the realization of the Supreme and every pathway to it has to be recognized, validated and appreciated. That is the meaning of secularism. It does not mean that we do not care for religion. It means that we care for religion so intensely that we believe that everyone who is seeking the Divine, whatever pathway he adopts, is to be extended some kind of appreciation and encouraged to go forward. Underneath this secularism Gandhiji also gave us the proper concept of socialism. There are a hundred ways in which this has been established; but the kind of socialism which he adopted was the democratic, ethical kind of socialism which did not ignore the individual, which did not neglect the freedom of the human spirit but tried to deal justly with all people. No one who looks at the poverty of our country, who finds even today thousands sleeping on the pavements of Bombay City, many others living in hovels, can have rest unless something is done to improve their lot. Gandhiji exemplified that socialism by being content with a loin-cloth and not having any possessions of his own. He set an example to other people that all these possessions were but appurtenances to life. They do not constitute life itself. True life consists in inwardness, freedom and in the development of the qualities of mercy and compassion. Civilization is a matter of mind and heart. It is not a matter of material possessions; it is not a matter of the palatial residence in which you live, but is a matter of the attitude of mind you adopt when you see the sufferings of others; when you see other people grovelling in darkness, your heart goes out to them. So the kind of socialism you talk about must be understood to be first and foremost a democratic socialism which does not sacrifice the liberty of the individual. Next comes the ethical kind of socialism which does not sacrifice means to ends. We must remember these great things when we talk about socialism and what we intend to do by bringing about a socialistic pattern of society.

Now this Gosamvardhana is a thing to which Gandhiji paid much attention. He looked at the physical inefficiency of our people. He knew that they were susceptible to disease, that they were subject to malnutrition. He, therefore, said that we must protect the wealth of the country, the cow—he called it "a poem of pity." It does not cry out, it does not say anything to you; but it seeks your help, your assistance for its good and development.

The previous speakers have spoken to us as to what we have been doing about cattle in this country. It is not a question of sentiment or worship : it is a question of reverence for life, whether it is human life or animal life. It was this principle which dominated the activities of Gandhiji. He would never resort to violence for the sake of even gaining the freedom of our country. When it was put to him that the whole of history was a demonstration that no country ever gained freedom by the means which he was suggesting and that they always resorted to force, Gandhiji replied, "If they are the only ways in which we can gain freedom, let my country go under. I do not want freedom for my country."

He put spiritual values higher than material values. Every religion professes it; but few people practise it. The Cross means material death and spiritual victory. For the sake of gaining spiritual ends we must be prepared to give up our physical life. But he it was who practised it, who said that if that was the only way by which the freedom of his country had to be won, he did not want his country to win freedom.

I listened to the interesting reports that have been given and I saw how much could be done. I should like to congratulate the Milk Commissioner here on the excellent work which he has done during the few years that he has been here. I want his example to be followed in other parts of the country. We are suffering from so many defects, most of all physical inefficiency. We are not able to do our work in a capable way. Why not? Because we have not the physical stamina; we have not the capacity to do the work. Therefore, physical efficiency is essential for the development of a nation.

There is much cattle wealth in our country : I was just told that we have the largest proportion of cattle in this country compared to the cattle wealth of the world; but our milk production is negligible and that, too, not of the right nutritious value. Most of us live on milk and milk products. They are our only protein food, and if these things fail us, our bodies themselves will fail us. Therefore, every attempt like this should be fostered in every possible way.

It gives me pleasure to know that the Government of India and the Maharashtra Government, and the Minister of Food and Agriculture at Delhi and the Minister of Agriculture here are all helping this enterprise. I want to see this grow. I was told that you supply sixty

per cent of milk to Bombay City now. You have cleansed the city by moving the cattle from the cattle sheds there and you are providing the city with pure milk. You must be able to increase the target to hundred per cent as soon as possible. You can do it; all that is necessary is the determination to do so. Let us not talk all the time about politics. Take up something concrete, apply yourselves to it and raise the status of our people. Politics will take care of itself.

In this context I should like to thank the UNICEF and the FAO for the liberal grants that they have given to us and the technical assistance that they have provided for us. The Government of New Zealand, a small country, has given us a donation. It shows the increasing sense of international commitment and responsibility. It shows how the world is moving on from States having independent sovereign status to an international community. If one man is hungry, another should feel it. If one is diseased, this is likely to affect another. This kind of international concern and commitment is on the increase in respect of institutions like this—dairy schemes, machinery, etc. We owe much to other nations. We must recognize that these are a demonstration of the increasing internationalism of our growing world. I wish this institution every success, and I hope that the Seminar will discuss the problems with seriousness and purpose and do something which will help to regenerate our country through the regeneration of the cattle of our country.

INDIAN COFFEE

IT is a pleasure for me to be called upon to open this impressive Coffee Board building. It is situated in the Vidhan Veedhi, in the neighbourhood of Vidhan Soudha. As you have just heard, the idea of having this building was proposed in 1950, and in 1956 this site was acquired. Through the co-operation of the Central and State Governments this building has been put up. Distinguished leaders of this part of the country, Shri K. C. Reddy, Shri S. Nijalingappa and Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, have been associated with it. They and others associated with this organization deserve congratulations.

We have established a Marketing Board and Research Centre. All these are intended to improve the quality of coffee, and to develop both home and foreign markets for it. You have been doing good work, rendering assistance to small growers. I hope that in due time Indian coffee will be liked the world over.

Speech on opening the new Coffee Board building, Bangalore, 9 October, 1963

Coffee has come to be consumed in large quantities in India, especially in south India; but there are Coffee Houses even in Delhi and other parts of India which, I understand, are the centres of acute and interesting discussions of current problems. A cup of coffee dissolves your drowsiness, stimulates your mind, sharpens your wits and loosens your tongue.

We know that a Coffee House was established in New York in 1737, and it is claimed that the Coffee House there gave rise to the idea of the American Union. There is a lighter side, too. In a university hall there were four posts in four corners and on one of them was set up the Congress flag, on another the Muslim League flag and on the third the Hindu Mahasabha flag; and some wise man set up on the vacant fourth post a flag with the inscription, "Drink More Coffee." I hope that today we have given up these communal and sectional values and are working for the development of the spirit of the oneness of India to which all other group loyalties are subordinated.

I have pleasure in declaring this building open.

THE SCOUTING SPIRIT

Dr Kunzru and friends : I am happy to be here and give away these certificates. Dr Kunzru has explained already how these certificates were won by the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides after very hard and disciplined work. What our country requires today is hard, honest, disciplined work and character which subordinate caste, communal, regional, linguistic and religious considerations to the larger view. He has pointed out that the Scouts and Guides are trained in that spirit.

You are building up a great country, and any service rendered to that end will make you great. You become involved in that greatness. Scouting and Guiding are not merely for particular occasions. They have to be with you all your life. You have to carry on all your work in the spirit of scouting and guiding.

I heard the opening song which was rendered today—*jeevana karo, ujjvala karo, sundara karo*. Most of us do not live; we merely exist. We pass on from one thing to another without any purpose, or without any kind of aim. That mere existence will have to be raised to the quality of life. *Ujjvala karo*—it again means that we are dead wood. Unless it is made to burn, becomes consuming fire, our lives again are not useful. Many of us live ugly, squalid lives. What confers beauty on

Speech at the Annual Rally of the President's Scouts and the President's Guides, New Delhi, 9 November, 1963

our lives is a core of purpose and the subordination of all our petty desires to the fulfilment of that purpose. If we achieve that, our lives become beautiful. It is, therefore, your duty to raise your mere existence into life and to raise mere drift-wood into something which consumes you, a burning fire, and to raise what is merely raw material into things of beauty. If you do these things, your lives will become great. I hope that you will carry the lessons of your scouting and guiding throughout, wherever you are, and that, whenever any question arises, you will ask yourselves whether you are loyal to the pledges that you have taken or not. That should be the supreme test for the guidance of your lives. I hope that you will continue your work in the spirit of discipline, devotion and dedication.

THE PRESIDENT'S BODYGUARD

It is a very real pleasure for me to present the new Standard and Colours to the President's Bodyguard.

This is the seniormost Unit in the Indian Army. It was established in 1773 by Warren Hastings and assumed different names—Governor's Bodyguard, Governor-General's Bodyguard, Viceroy's Bodyguard, then again Governor-General's Bodyguard, and today it is the President's Bodyguard.

This Unit has seen service both inside the country and outside, and won for itself great distinction for courage and chivalry, forbearance and fortitude, spirit of sacrifice and disciplined behaviour. The Standard presented to the Bodyguard today symbolizes the great ideals and aspirations of our country, unity, strength, justice and equality. The ideals which are written into our Constitution are symbolized in this Standard. I have no doubt that in these difficult times when we are being tested, this Bodyguard and other Units of the Indian Army will stand up to all these tests and enhance the traditions which have been handed down to them. For personal bravery and for the spirit of sacrifice, our Indian jawans are unparalleled by any in the world, and I have no doubt that they will manifest these qualities of courage and daring in the difficulties which they may face. I hope that they will remember the great traditions of the Indian Army and carry them on, and pass them on to their descendants with enhanced prestige. Good luck to you all.

Speech on presenting the President's Standard and the Regimental Colours to the President's Bodyguard, New Delhi, 11 November, 1963

RED CROSS IDEALS

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here and declare open this new home for the Delhi Red Cross Society. Its activities have been expanding and increasing as you have just heard from Shrimati Rajen Nehru, and I have no doubt that they will go on increasing in the years to come.

When the Delhi Red Cross was started in 1922 it was a small organization, but today its ramifications extend over urban and rural areas. The contributions of nearly Rs 15,000 received from the rural areas indicate the interest that the rural people are taking in the activities of the Red Cross.

Shrimati Rajen Nehru spoke to us of the centenary year of the Red Cross. It was started about a hundred years ago by Henri Dunant, who was horrified by war and its bloodshed, the sick and the wounded and the desperate way in which they were left to shift for themselves. We had in our country years ago an emperor, a great emperor, who was horrified by the conquest of Kalinga and said, "No more bloodshed in our country." But this was not followed up by any institutional activities.

Though the Red Cross was originally started for the care of the sick and the wounded in war, it gradually covered every kind of humanitarian activity. Wherever you have people suffering, whether due to famine, floods or earthquake, the Red Cross organization has been doing good work. Whereas wars show the fallen side of human nature, an organization like this is an illustration of the nobler side of human nature : human beings are not really so bestial and so given to helplessness and hopelessness, and their hearts are still sound. The Red Cross is there to heal people and to bring them together.

It is a matter of much gratification to us that this Red Cross organization of Delhi has thousands of workers in the rural and urban areas and that they are to be found in all schools, etc. This quality of compassion, of service to humanity, must be encouraged in all human beings. It is a matter for cultivation; it is not something which comes to us spontaneously or automatically; but it is something which we have to cultivate if we wish to be of service to humanity.

Shrimati Rajen Nehru spoke to us of the way in which this Red Cross organization of Delhi contributed to the amenities of our jawans in the recent conflict with China. The Red Cross as a whole did contribute to the repatriation of our prisoners, and it played a notable part in the work of getting our sick and wounded away from behind the lines into our own areas. It has done that work in a very noble and useful way. I want the spirit of the Red Cross organization to embrace the whole of humanity. We have the Cross, the Cross which indicates that it does

Speech on opening the new building of the Delhi Red Cross Society, New Delhi, 20 November, 1963

not matter if materially you lose and that you should stand for spiritual ideals. The Cross means material death and spiritual victory. It must be our endeavour to subordinate our material interests and stand for the lofty ideals of compassion and service to humanity. These are ideals which are in tune with the spirit of our country and the history of the Delhi Red Cross gives me great hope that these qualities are still to be found among our citizens and that it is only necessary for us to tap these resources which are there in plenty.

In a world torn by strife and misunderstanding, the Red Cross stands for bringing peoples together, for the healing of wounds, for the reconciliation of mankind. It is a great gesture which the Nobel Peace Committee conferred on the Red Cross organization by awarding it its Peace Prize in this centenary year, thereby recognizing the great service which the Red Cross organization has done to humanity; and that spirit must impel us in our daily lives and in our national behaviour. If we are able to achieve that, many of our quarrels will disappear. It is necessary for us not merely to tend the sick and the wounded, but we have also to see that many minds are sick, that many of them are overtaken by group loyalties, caste discriminations and religious jealousies. They are sick, neurotic minds. They, too, require to be helped and healed; and the Red Cross people who go out should have that spirit of looking upon all people as forming members of one kindred, of one family. If that idea possesses them and if they act accordingly, this country and the world will be better for their work and service. With that great hope, I am glad to declare open this new home of the Red Cross. Its activities, I hope, will progress and will become a symbol of the great spirit of compassion which is always there in humanity.

THE SPIRIT OF ST JOHN AMBULANCE

RAJKUMARI Amrit Kaur and friends : I am delighted to be here this evening and see something of the work done by the competing teams, and to give away the prizes and congratulate the winners.

Punjab has acquitted itself very well indeed, and I hope that its example will stir others to make an effort and win next time, and do as well as Punjab did this time. It is a great thing that these competitions have been revived after some years in this centenary year of the Red Cross.

Speech on distributing prizes to winning teams at the All-India Ambulance Competitions, New Delhi, 29 November, 1963

Suffering is the badge of the human tribe. There is natural sickness, old age, etc. Apart from these there are the accidents that happen—floods and earthquakes. But when I saw the way in which accidents were brought about just now, it was clear that we caused suffering and then we helped to heal it. Accidents are brought about by ourselves and then we try to organize relief to repair the damage that has been done. Much of all this is due to the carelessness of man, to his disordered brain, intemperate imagination, recklessness and rashness of behaviour. It is necessary for the St John Ambulance as also for the Red Cross not only to cure suffering but to see to it that it is reduced to the minimum.

Man's inhumanity to man is the worst part of our nature. The greatest enemy of man is man himself. If we can civilize him, if we can make him feel that he should be more careful in his daily behaviour, that in his human relationships he should look upon individuals as being his kindred, all the troubles in this world will be wiped out. There is an atmosphere of violence, much of loose talk, and people are goaded to unruly behaviour and activities. If the St John Ambulance wishes to live up to its ideals, it should try to control this loose talk and unruly behaviour. The minds of men will have to be changed, their hearts will have to be refined. That is an essential part of the task of the St John Ambulance.

The world is still in its infancy. We are still adolescent, not grown to maturity. That is why our natures are still in this raw condition. This raw material will have to be refined and shaped and made to feel that it contains the image of the Divine. If we are able to do it, the St John Ambulance will have done an excellent piece of work. It is a great name which you bear like the Red Cross as well. Cross means passing through suffering, *you* passing through it and not inflicting suffering on *others*: that is, the changing of human nature. It may involve material death but it does mean spiritual victory; and it is essential for you to stand up for spiritual ideals, no matter what material disadvantages such a course of action may bring to you. If you are able to remember these things, there will be less suffering in this world, less need for you to go about doing curative work, and you will also be able to do preventive work.

I congratulate you on having revived these competitions, and I hope that its scope will expand. Instead of having only three million workers, you will have to double that number in another decade. If you do that, the spirit of St John Ambulance will permeate our society and that is what I wish to see.

INAUGURATION OF THE STATE OF NAGALAND

FRIENDS : I have great pleasure in inaugurating the new State of Nagaland. It takes an honoured place today as the sixteenth State of the Indian Union. Indian society has always been a multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-religious one, having a variety of racial and ethnic groups.

kirāta hūṇā'ndhra pulinda pukkasaḥ
ābhīra kaṅka yavanāḥ khasādayaḥ

Though diverse in origin, all these different communities were united by a common purpose. In accord with the traditional outlook of our country, ever since the achievement of Independence, attempts have been made, as your Chief Minister has said, to see a separate Naga State within the Indian Union. These attempts to secure to you the fullest freedom to manage your own affairs have culminated in the creation of Nagaland State.

The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962, setting up the new State of Nagaland, provides that no Act of Parliament in respect of the religious or social practices of the Nagas, the Naga customary law and procedure, the administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to the Naga customary law, and ownership and transfer of land and its resources, shall apply to the new State unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides. This way, the Constitution respects your distinctive identity.

The Fundamental Rights enshrined in our Constitution, such as equality before law, prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion, will apply to the people of Nagaland.

The rule of law and government by the consent of the governed are of the essence of democracy. The Government must be the custodian of the general welfare of its people and not of any special interest. The Government must capture the hearts and minds of the people. The administrators must exercise the human, the healing touch in their relations with the people and should not deprive the Nagas of their innocent joys, their songs and dances, their feasts and festivals which are not repugnant to our moral sense.

Speech inaugurating the State of Nagaland, Kohima, 1 December, 1963

The special powers vested in the Governor to maintain law and order will cease to apply in the absence of any internal unrest. It is my profound hope that the people of Nagaland will whole-heartedly work under the Constitution and help to build up a prosperous and progressive State.

You have not only the qualities of loyalty, valour and discipline but also the habits of industry, an innate sense of beauty and artistic skill. Your women occupy prominent positions in the Tribal Councils, etc. You have also proved your ability as civil administrators in more recent times.

The resources of Nagaland, limited as they are, will have to be developed to the fullest extent; and yet there may be need for Central assistance for purposes of development and administration. I am sure that this assistance will be available for the Naga people in full measure. Considerable progress has already been made in agriculture, education, health services, communications, etc., but the pace of development will have to be speeded up. I have no doubt that whatever money is provided by the Centre will be spent on the welfare of the people of Nagaland. I do hope that all the Naga people will take the fullest advantage of the fresh opportunities afforded to them and share in the building up of prosperity and progress in the country. We are still at the beginning of a new era and much hard work lies ahead. But nothing can stem the tide of progress of India, if its 440 million people are determined to achieve it by hard work, discipline and determination.

May I also express the hope that, now that the wishes of the Nagas have been fully met, normal conditions will rapidly return to the State, and that those who are still unreconciled will come forward to participate in the development of Nagaland. The highest position in the country is open to every Naga—in Parliament, in the Central Cabinet and in the various services, military and civil.

Understanding and friendship help to build a society whereas hatred and violence tend to disrupt it. Let us avoid the latter and adopt the former. On this auspicious day I make an appeal to all the Naga people : let all past rancour and misunderstanding be forgotten, and let a new chapter of progress, prosperity and goodwill be written on the page which opens today. I once again say that a bright future awaits the brave people of Nagaland. *Jai Hind !*

DR RAJENDRA PRASAD

FRIENDS : I have great pleasure in accepting the bust of Dr Rajendra Prasad, on behalf of Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Others have spoken already about Dr Rajendra Prasad's great qualities. I had known him for over thirty years. I came to know him rather well when I came to Delhi in 1952. Whatever office he held, he showed great humility and understanding, and he was an embodiment of simple living. This bust, I hope, will remind all visitors to Rashtrapati Bhavan of the great life he lived, and be an example to them.

THE NATIONAL CADET CORPS

FRIENDS : I am happy to see you all here today. I find every year that your number is increasing and that the quality of your training is also improving.

This Cadet Corps is intended to foster physical efficiency, disciplined behaviour, co-operative spirit and team work. Our country is rich in both natural and human resources, and we can make it a great country provided we bring to it sustained effort and the spirit of dedication.

I have just listened to the song sung by the Maharashtrian Block—"Fight the Enemies." The enemies are more within than without. Our small-mindedness and the dominance of self-interest are the things which we have to fight. If we are able to overcome them, this country will become a great one. You people have the right spirit, and I hope that you will continue to exhibit it in every aspect of your lives. Wish you the best of luck.

Speech accepting the bust of the late Dr Rajendra Prasad, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 3 December, 1963

Address to the National Cadet Corps, Mughul Gardens, New Delhi, 28 January, 1964

THE ARJUNA AWARDS

FRIENDS : I am happy to be here and give away these awards and congratulate the recipients of the awards on the recognition that they have attained for their meritorious work in different sports activities.

Shri Chagla has already referred to the importance of sports in the development of the health of a nation. Sports do contribute to the physical efficiency of a people. But the name which these awards carry, ARJUNA AWARDS, indicates that mere physical efficiency is not by itself enough. You remember the way in which Arjuna had enormous strength and was about to utilize it; but he wished to justify to himself that the cause in which he was using his strength was a righteous one. So on the battlefield he hesitated. He at one time said : *na yōtsya iti gōvindam.* I will not fight; I have all the strength; how am I to use this strength ? Is it for a right cause or for a wrong cause ? There are many people who have physical energy, much of efficiency and strength who go about using all their powers for wrong causes.

The amount of indiscipline we have in our country and the vandalism which we exhibit are symbolic of the way in which our strength is being misused. Arjuna on the battlefield wished to know whether the cause he was called upon to fight was a right one or a wrong one. So also we should have the conviction that we are using our strength for a good purpose, for the building up of a country, and not for destroying it, not for destroying property or destroying other people's lives and things like that.

Sometimes we think that our cause is just and that we use our powers for that purpose. Much disaster and harm have come to this world on account of men's having physical strength and intellectual power but not spiritual fellowship and humanism. And Arjuna at the end says : all my doubts are now dissolved, *naṣṭo mohaḥ,* I have attained wisdom. I will now do what you ask me to do and carry out your bidding, *kariṣye vacanaṁ tava.* There is hesitation when you have causes which appeal to you in some ways and repel you in other ways. There arises a conflict in your own mind between what you consider right and what you consider wrong, and so there must be some spiritual dignity which must dictate to you the right course of action. That is spiritual poise. In the Christian scriptures we find Christ saying, "Take this cup away from me," and yet he says, "No, not my will, but Thy will be done."

If health means wholeness, it means physical efficiency, correct understanding. It means physical poise. Every day in our lives we

Speech on presenting the Arjuna Awards to outstanding sportsmen for 1963, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, 2 April, 1964

come across conflicts when we have to take decisions. Recently we have had an instance : the release of Sheikh Abdullah is an act of faith, which we expect Sheikh Abdullah and his friends to justify; and that is not a matter of understanding merely, or physical power.

Health is wholeness of being, physical, intellectual and spiritual. Physical efficiency is a basic factor in any kind of integrated development. We must look upon it not as a thing in itself but as a factor in the development of the whole being of man. Arjuna typifies therefore that kind of wholeness of personality—physical efficiency, mental alertness and spiritual poise. That is what you should think about when you receive these awards and see to it that you develop wholeness of being and personality.

THE TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA

FRIENDS : it gives me very great pleasure to be here and congratulate the workers of the Tuberculosis Association of India on the work that they have already achieved.

Twenty-five years of existence of this Association is a sign that it has been doing good work and catering for the real needs of our country.

Tuberculosis, as Dr Sushila Nayar has already told you, is both a national and an international problem. It is national because we have millions in this country who suffer from tuberculosis, and we are trying to help them, dispense comfort and happiness to them. Those who are on the public stage get the applause; but the true workers are those who visit homes and soothe those who suffer from tuberculosis, and dispense real comfort and happiness to them.

We founded this Association at a time when the country was not independent. And it has acquired greater strength after Independence. We have to recognize that in the treatment of tuberculosis, there has been great progress : discovery of anti-bacterial drugs, chest surgery, and several other ways in which patients are looked after much better today than before. But the real problem of tuberculosis is the problem of the general poverty of the country; low standards of living, unhealthy surroundings, malnutrition and bad water-supply are the causes of tuberculosis. If we want to eliminate tuberculosis from the life of the nation, we have to raise the quality of the nation and the standards of living of the ordinary people—that is the radical cure for the

Speech at the Silver Jubilee meeting of the Tuberculosis Association of India, New Delhi, 4 April, 1964

removal of tuberculosis. What we are attempting to do in hospitals and in other ways is symptomatic treatment; but we have to extend organic treatment to this particular problem. It is, therefore, interconnected with the general level of our well-being, and all those who work for the raising of the material standards of our country are helping to remove the scourge of tuberculosis from the lives of millions of our young people.

It was said that Rajkumari Amrit Kaur had a great deal to do with the development of this Association. She was our unofficial Ambassador to the world at large. By her great charm, refinement, skill in speech and human qualities, she endeared herself to all those whom she met. Her loss is a really great one and I have no doubt that her example will inspire you all.

It is a great thing that Dr Sushila Nayar also comes from a similar background. She was a close associate of Gandhiji. If Gandhiji taught us anything, it was detachment and devotion—detachment from pride, from prejudice, from fixed ideas and obsessions and having an open mind and trying to do our best; and devotion to the public welfare, to the common good of the community which transcends not merely national bounds but every kind of limitation.

Today health is a universal problem. That is why you have passports, health certificates, etc. Everyone is interested in the preservation of the health of everyone else. It is these qualities which we have to develop—detachment and devotion. My friend Dr Sushila Nayar has these qualities and she will try to apply them to the daily lives of our people.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Silver Jubilee Session of the Tuberculosis Association of India.

LEPROSY RELIEF

FRIENDS : I am very happy to be here and meet you all once again. I had the pleasure of meeting you last year at a similar function. We have listened to the reports of Dr Chadha and Shri Lakshmanan on the progress made last year. It is a satisfactory account, and I wish to congratulate you on the work that you have done.

Leprosy was once upon a time regarded as incurable, and patients who suffered from leprosy were treated as more or less outcasts from society. It is a great improvement that we have effected in that we do

Speech presiding over the Annual General Meeting of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh, New Delhi, 16 April, 1964

not adopt such attitudes now. We know that leprosy is curable; we know that many drugs have been invented and that there are possibilities of surgical intervention also and that people can be rehabilitated not only physically but psychologically. They may be made to accept their position as members of society where they will be able to make satisfactory contributions to society. To make people who suffer from leprosy feel that sense of dignity is a great achievement on which all the workers deserve to be congratulated.

I know that many foreign agencies have been helping you. The King of the Belgians was on a tour of this country just to visit the Leprosy Centre in south India; and I corresponded with President Luebke of the Federal Republic of Germany; he sent me a cheque to be forwarded to you and you received it. That means that leprosy is treated not merely as a local problem but as a problem which concerns the health of the whole world community. If you want to remove leprosy from the world, you have to start somewhere, and each country will have to start somewhere. By this kind of treatment and work which you do—it blesses him that gives and him that receives—you not only improve the position of the patients but you also begin to realize that there are resources in human nature—resources of compassion and sympathy for suffering people. These qualities are manifested by the leprosy doctors, the leprosy workers, etc. This dharma, or *sevā,* service as we call it, is something which is very difficult to grasp. Many of us think that we are rendering social service. What we are really doing, each individual will know only if he subjects himself to personal examination and scrutiny. There is a passage which tells us :

sevā dharmaḥ parama gahano yōgināmapyagamyaḥ

The essence of *dharma* or service is most profound, very secret; it is incomprehensible even to the yogis. We think that we are doing social service but all the time our motives may be somewhat different. It is essential that everyone who is engaged in this important work should act with a missionary motive, should have a sense of helping those who happen to be weak and vulnerable.

I have no doubt that those workers who are dealing with leprosy do adopt such an attitude. They have sympathy for the suffering patient. You know the great saying : who is my neighbour ? Whoever is suffering, whoever is in need of help, is your neighbour. Our neighbours are to be found in all parts of the world. Every neighbour of ours who stands in need of our help is our true neighbour, our true brother.

It is in that spirit that you should work and I think you, Ladies and Gentlemen, who are doing this work, have this great ideal before you.

It is not merely a question of rescuing leprosy patients but rescuing yourselves from what is fugitive and fragile and trying to do some work which will bring out the better nature, not the fallen nature of humanity. At a time like this when the explosive forces of the world are at work, it is necessary for most of us to realize that we are friendly to one another. Friendliness, forbearance and help for the suffering should be the ideals which should govern our daily conduct. This may be difficult; but all great things are difficult, and I hope that you workers will act in the spirit indicated by your own religion, indeed all the great religions of the world.

I wish you well in your deliberations. You will work out your problems and try to make your organization a much better one than it happens to be. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that voluntary agencies, governmental agencies and foreign agencies are all working together with the one idea of saving the leprosy patients from their suffering.

THE IDEALS OF DR RAJENDRA PRASAD

FRIENDS : I am delighted to be here and unveil the portrait of Dr Rajendra Prasad. It is the good fortune of this country that in the formative period of our Republic, immediately after the establishment of the Republic, Dr Prasad was elected President and that he guided the destinies of our country for over 12 years. He was the embodiment of what is best in Indian culture. The peaks of our achievement are symbolized by service, renunciation and sacrifice. These three qualities were embodied in him. His life, from the time he entered the national struggle down to the last day of his life, was devoted to the service of this country. It was in this Hall that he presided over the Constituent Assembly and drew up the Constitution, which is democratic and progressive in outlook.

It is true that he took a leading part in many other activities, too. But here we are concerned with his work for the development of the Constitution and the work which he did for human fellowship. The last address which he gave in this city of Delhi was at the Anti-nuclear Convention. As a true disciple of Gandhiji, he made out that we should try to avoid every kind of violence, that we should struggle to establish peace and friendship among nations; and he formulated a proposal for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Even though it may

Speech on unveiling a portrait of Dr Rajendra Prasad, Parliament House, New Delhi, 5 May, 1964

have appeared to be utopian when he formulated it, it is an ideal to which the whole world looks forward. It was in his lifetime that nuclear developments arose. There were the methods of the past, battles, violent struggles, etc. But when these had taken place, we could still survive as they affected only parts of the world, not the whole of it. Nuclear armaments and nuclear warfare mean the destruction of all the civilized values for which we stand. The methods of the past cannot be regarded as applicable to the present. So, even though we may consider that what he suggested was utopian, yet that is the only thing that can give the human community stability, poise and balance.

We cannot merely ask for nuclear disarmament. We must remove the causes that cause wars. The causes are mutual fear, distrust, animosities and the feeling of insecurity among nations. If we are to survive in this world as peaceful nations, these causes have to be removed. Men must feel that humanity is one whole, irrespective of caste or community, class or race. They must try to widen the horizon of their understanding, advance in knowledge, grow in grace and feel that when one individual in one part of the country or the world suffers, all others do suffer.

Dr Rajendra Prasad, as a faithful disciple of Gandhiji, argued for human fellowship. It is one of the things inscribed in our Constitution. We stand for political justice and freedom, fraternity and fellowship. This is one of the remarkable objectives of our Constitution. We cannot achieve it unless we advance towards it step by step. Many of the things that we do may appear to be very rash from the practical point of view today but ultimately it is the steps that seem to be impossible and it is the push of the impossible that make the world a place in which we can live with some kind of amity and friendship. Rajen Babu held this ideal and the last address he gave to the Delhi people, to the country and the world at large, was the one on unilateral nuclear disarmament. Not that it is going to be realized tomorrow or the day after, but he knew for certain that if this world was to become a happy home, if people were to live together in amity and friendship, that was the only way. We must cease to hate each other; we must cease to have hostilities; we must love one another and try to develop understanding of one another. It is this ideal that possessed him and he made the proposal even though he was certain that many in his audience would not accept the rationale of it.

I would like to say that he was a faithful disciple of Gandhiji. He was a believer in democracy; democracy, he thought, was a progressive system. What exists today in the name of democracy cannot be regarded as satisfactory. It is something which is perpetually moving forward; if it does not move forward, it is not democracy. It must

go on until it embraces the whole world and makes it a happy human community.

I have great pleasure in unveiling this portrait, and I hope that all those who see it will understand the great ideals for which Rajen Babu stood, for which he lived, and for which he died.

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